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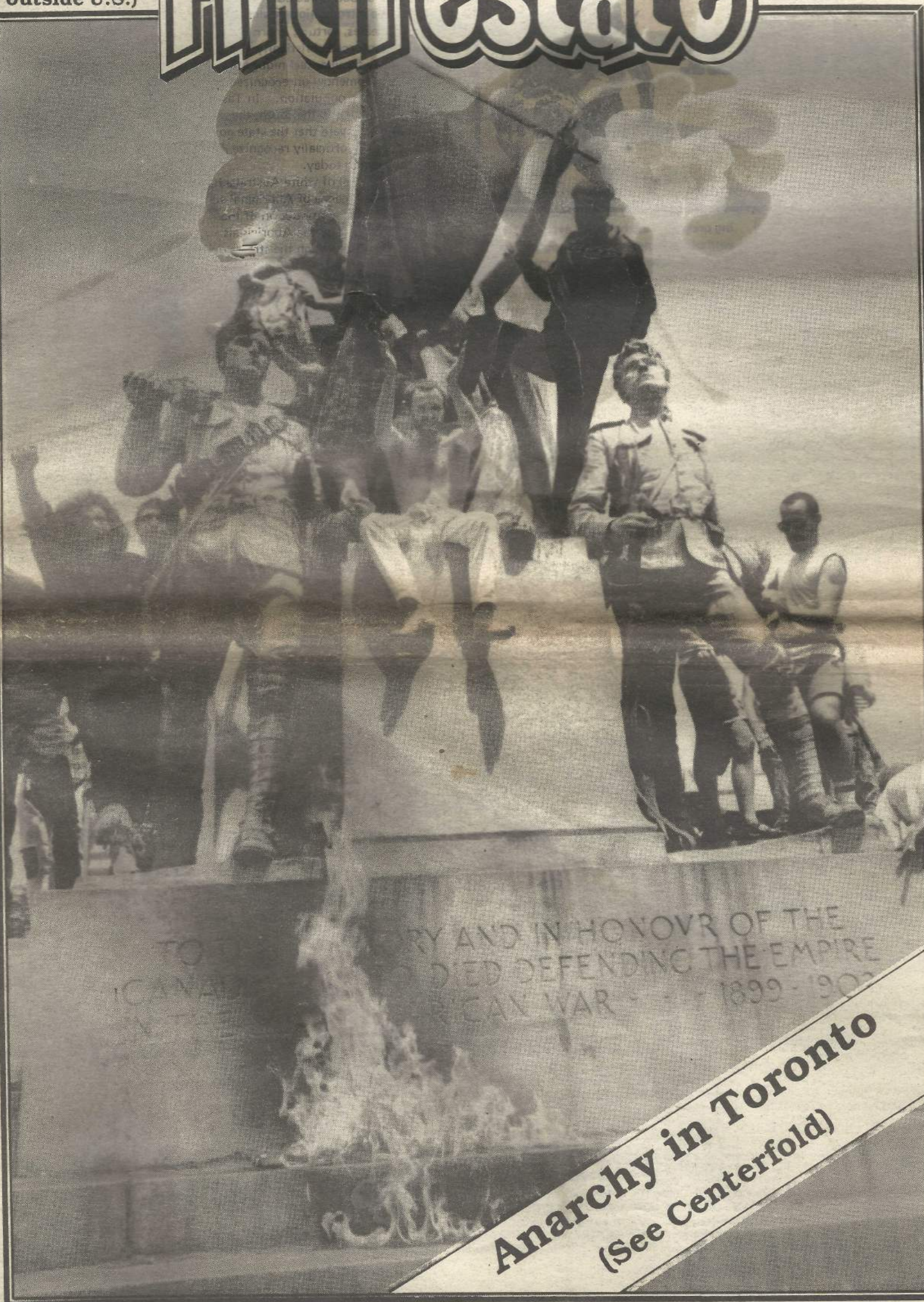
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Summer 1988

(Published August 1)

# first estate



TO THE MEMORY AND IN HONOUR OF THE  
CANADIANS WHO DIED DEFENDING THE EMPIRE  
IN THE BOER WAR 1899-1902

**Anarchy in Toronto**  
(See Centerfold)



# bits of the world in brief



"Invasion Day" celebration, Jan. 26, with first fleet re-enactment vessel showing the "flag" as it enters Sydney harbor.

It is two hundred years since the European invasion of Australia. The resistance that was begun then by Australian Aborigines continues today. While the presentation of a sanitized version of history takes place on the TV screens of the nation, the original inhabitants of the continent have declared 1988 a Year of Mourning and Commitment to Struggle.

The Australia Day celebrations on January 26 provided Aborigines and their supporters with an opportunity to march through the streets of Sydney, the country's largest city and site of original white settlement. Approximately 20,000 Aborigines and their supporters, led by tribal people from the Northern Territory, marched through the city center while ships, in a re-enactment of the arrival of the first white settlers, entered the harbour.

Earlier in the day, a smaller march of 1000 people evaded police to arrive at a vantage point on the harbour where heckling and stone throwing against the re-enactment fleet, police boats and arrogant yuppie spectator craft took place. Strangely, white spectators on the shore nearby did not noticeably object to this display of defiance even when Prince Charles and Lady Di were booed and jeered.

Aboriginal opposition was also attracted to the opening of the new Federal Parliament building (a monument to extravagance) in Canberra on May 9th, and the World Expo '88 to be held in Brisbane from April 30 to October 30. Expo is be-

ing presented as the major event of the white bicentenary and is taking place in the most racist state in the country.

Expo '88 is a classic land swindle. The government is hoping to attract investment and tourism to pump up a failing economy and when it's all over flog the land off to their rich pig mates. The Expo site is in a "run down" riverside, inner-city area that has traditionally housed working class people, migrants and Aborigines, in particular.

Indeed, the boundary of the site in South Brisbane is an ancient gathering point for the South East Queensland tribes. The racist Queensland government has threatened to put anti-Expo Aboriginal activists in the "Black Hole," the below ground detention unit at Brisbane's Bogga Bood Jail.

Most white Australians are largely unaware of their own history—the mass murder and land theft that has made Australia what it is today, an apparently egalitarian society, that is, in fact, deeply divided. There was plenty of land for the early settlers because the blacks were not consider-



Aborigines and supporters numbered 20,000 as they protested the official celebration of Australia (Invasion) Day in Sydney. —photos by Black Mark Art

ed human, and the land declared "terra nullis."

A significant proportion of the Aboriginal population died as a result of the invasion. Outright slaughter, poisoning of waterholes and food, infected blankets, starvation, the introduction of alcohol and European diseases, torture, imprisonment and slavery, enforced christianity—all of the sickeningly familiar techniques of colonialism, but somehow unrecognized as such by the white population. In Tasmania, a large island in the south, the genocide was so severe that the state government does not officially recognize Aborigines as existing today.

The bicentennial of white Australia has seen another resurgence of Aboriginal activism. These are a continuation of the guerilla wars fought by the Aborigines in the last century through the strike on cattle stations in the 1940s, '50s, and '60s and into the land rights movement of the 1970s. The nationalist celebration comes at a time when conditions of Aboriginal life are at an all time low.

As we were assured by a participant in Australia's small but active anarchist movement, "You can be sure resistance exists in the pancreas of the beast."

**Report by West End Anarchists, Box 332, North Quay 4002, Queensland, Australia.**

Ofer Kassif, a 23-year-old reservist with the Israeli army, recently got 28 days in a military jail for refusing a posting in the Gaza Strip. Kassif was one of 250 reservists, including numerous officers, who signed a joint letter sponsored by Yesh Gvul, the Israeli military resisters group, proclaiming the signatories' refusal to take a hand in suppressing the current Palestinian insurgency.

As Palestinian protests are met with increasingly violent repression, growing numbers of Israeli soldiers face a choice between obedience to the letter of military law, and obedience to their own conscience; between following orders they find morally, politically and legally repugnant—or defiance, with all the consequences.

Five years ago, the Lebanon war created a similar dilemma, and numerous Israeli soldiers declined to take part in the campaign. Of the hundreds of reservists who refused duty in Lebanon, at least 150 served jail terms. Their sacrifice was not in vain: the growing unrest within the army was a major factor in inducing the Israeli government ultimately to pull its troops out of Lebanon.

The force behind the Lebanon "refuseniks" was Yesh Gvul. Now, as Israeli soldiers again face the agonizing choice entailed by their duties in the occupied territories, Yesh Gvul is once more called upon to provide the moral and material support so vital to those who heed the voice of conscience. The assistance provided is twofold:

—financial aid to the families of servicemen imprisoned for refusing duty on

grounds of principle;

—moral backing in the form of a campaign of public protest to denounce the "iron fist" policy against the Palestinian population.

For both purposes, Yesh Gvul is in urgent need of assistance, specifically:

**Messages of support** for the "refuseniks"—to be sent to the nearest Israeli diplomatic mission, with a copy to Yesh Gvul;

**Money!** There is an urgent need for funds to pursue a campaign of public protests, to include publication of lists of reservists committed to resisting participation in the current wave of repression.

**Yesh Gvul**

P.O. Box 6953, Jerusalem 91068, Israel  
or P.O. Box 4172, Tel Aviv, Israel



The Australian Bicentennial celebration turned bloody May 26 with the announcement of official plans to slaughter nearly 2 million kangaroos for profit in Queensland, the nation's largest state and the mainstay of the kangaroo industry.

The Queensland quota of 1.74 million animals boosts the total approved kill to 2,949,800 kangaroos for all of Australia, an increase of 145,400 over the 1987 figure. It is estimated that an additional one million kangaroos are slaughtered outside the commercial quota for "damage mitigation"—alleged competition with domestic livestock.

This unique symbol of Australia's heritage will be ground into pet food, made into handbags, sewn into sports shoes, and used in stuffed toys.

—report from: Greenpeace, 1436 U St., NW, Washington DC 20009.

**JUST ARRIVED** in our bookstore: *Whitewash: Australia's Bicentenary; Another History*, published by the Melbourne Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation, \$1.50 (U.S.). Explains more fully what is at issue for Australia's original people and what the European invasion has done to them.

Two California-based groups, the Borderlands Anti-Authoritarian Community and the Survival Network (the latter which publishes the *Bayou La Rose* newspaper), are calling for protests of the planned beatification (the first step toward "sainthood") of Father Juniper Serra.

The 18th century Franciscan priest was largely responsible for the conquest and colonization of California and the resulting genocide and enslavement of the California native Americans. Serra estab-



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## Fifth estate





lished the first of nine missions in San Diego in 1769 and it was with this network that the systematic destruction of the Indian culture proceeded. A spokesman for the Diocese of Monterey, California unwittingly expressed approval for the racism and genocide the Catholic Church was responsible for when he referred recently to Serra as "California's first citizen" as if rich indigenous cultures never existed prior to the arrival of the European invasion.

The anti-authoritarians who are planning the protest write, "We will not passively sit by while the Catholic Church makes a saint of a mass murderer!" If you would like to assist in the protest, contact: Truth About Serra Campaign, Box 2576, San Diego CA 92112. *Bayou La Rose*, (a paper committed to the defense of Native Americans, the environment and political prisoners), as well as the other groups mentioned above may be reached at the same address.

**Actions against the Empire have taken on a harder edge as Spring turned into Summer.** The frustration of seeing no progress or even regression emboldens people to act more aggressively in voicing their desires and to take more personal risks.

In the wake of U.S. moves to bolster its military presence in Honduras in March, demonstrations were held in cities across the country. In San Francisco and Minneapolis in particular, people refused to stay within the parameters of "legal" protests set by the courts and police.

A rally at the San Francisco Federal Building spilled out into the street as people blocked traffic. In Minneapolis, a coalition of diverse groups including the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League (RABL) occupied the busy intersection of Hennipen and Lake streets on March 17 and declared it a liberated zone. Demonstrators cleared the intersection of police by bombarding their cars with paint bombs and attempting to flip them over.

They then defended themselves against police assault by constructing barricades of bus benches, newspaper boxes, and burning dumpsters. Later, as the cold set in, the demonstrators dispersed into surrounding neighborhoods with only three arrests being made.

The following day, demonstrators again occupied the intersection, then marched on a nearby Armed Forces Recruiting Station and attacked it with eggs, rocks and a bowling ball ("Let's go bowling!").

After a weekend of organizing, more actions were held the following week. Police reaction also rose steadily. On Monday, March 21, riot cops broke up a spirited demonstration at the Federal Building with boots, clubs and mace. They used dogs and smashed cameras. It is clear the Empire will not relinquish any of its control without a fight.

Man wearing an imperial



**A NOTE OF SPECIAL THANKS** to Rob Lasker for his invaluable help, and to Freddie Baer, for her typesetting, design and layout of pages 15 through 22. Also, to all of those who made this issue happen.



Cops begin carrying away members of the Evergreen Alliance who sing while blockading the entrance to the incinerator on May 16. Photo/Rebecca Cook

## May Protests in Detroit Stopping The Incinerator Starting The Movement

After months of intense organizing, Detroit's Evergreen Alliance carried off a four-day "Mobilization to Save the Great Lakes," May 13-16, centered around opposition to the world's largest trash incinerator scheduled to open in May 1989.

Activities included 19 arrests for civil disobedience, a mass march and two educational forums, all of which brought public and participant attention to the ecological crisis facing the Great Lakes region as the quality of air, water and land continues to be in severe jeopardy.

The Detroit incinerator, if allowed to open, intends to burn 4000 tons of garbage a day, which will produce an enormous quantity of airborne pollutants, toxic ash, and the invidious message that this society can continue producing an immense mountain of junk without consequence.

As one could imagine, it was the direct action events of the Mobilization which stand out most vividly in memory. The Saturday, May 14 march kicked off from the now-closed Chene-Ferry market with about 400 persons in attendance and headed off toward the incinerator construction site two blocks away.

It was a colorful parade led by banners, two 16-foot high model birds with movable wings, and a Council of All Beings—masked and costumed people, representing those species unable to attend but still threatened by industrial and chemical pollution. All of the events had been in preparation for months and the effect on the marchers, some for whom this was their first demonstration, was the clear message that the state could be opposed, and the isolation of individuals as power-

less fragments could be overcome.

One person active in the planning, described the march as a "religious experience," indicating how profoundly the mere act of collective protest had affected some of the participants. There was a joyous solidarity present punctuated by drum beats and chants that reverberated through the almost completed incinerator structure as we passed by. For a moment it seemed that our commitment to the planet had something of a chance to overcome the firebreathing monster that loomed above us.

### Cops and Trees

The march was accompanied by a police contingent so out of proportion to the issue at hand and the numbers in attendance that no one knew what to expect. We have long suspected that the official paranoia about the Evergreen Alliance emanating from the Mayor's office stems from the ecology group's close connection with Greenpeace and the Fifth Estate.

However, the only point of confrontation was quickly passed over when the police backed down from trying to stop marchers from planting a tree on the lawn of a privately rented community center. Hysterical city officials had gotten wind of the plans for the symbolic planting as a counterweight to the destructiveness of the incinerator and pressured the building owners to forbid the action. 11 cops surrounded the house to prevent us from even reaching the lot, but our resolve to do so won the day and the tree was quickly planted and the demonstration proceeded on to a rally at the local university.

The following Monday, May 16, we returned to the incinerator at 6:00am for the planned civil disobedience. We had received a report that the construction workers were mobilizing to "kick our asses," so a leaflet was hurriedly prepared explaining the dangers of the project they were working on and that the enemy was the City and the system of production and waste. The leaflets were accepted coolly by the sleepy workers arriving for the morning shift, but their alleged threats never materialized and instead the succeeding events became a way for them to break up their daily routine by standing around gawking as the scene unfolded.

About 125 demonstrators braved the early hours to support those who had chosen to blockade the plant and when the 19 ran across the street and sat down in the wet, muddy entrance, a resounding cheer came up from the picketers. The police executed a quick, fairly restrained arrest of the 19 amid sustained singing and calls of support from across the street. The picket line followed the cops and their captives downtown to the jail/courthouse, quickly reassembled and continued demonstrating until all those arrested were released several hours later with an impending court date this Fall.

Those involved in discussing the planning of the action had debated the act of non-violent civil disobedience with its implications of passively delivering oneself into the power of the state, and those questions remain open ones. Still, there was something about the power of the act that transcended all of those political and tactical questions. There was a palpable radiance to each of our friends as they were carted off to the waiting police bus that seemed more important than all of the theoretical considerations.

Their firm announcement with their bodies that they loved the planet and hated the system which was destroying it made a simple sit-in into a moving experience for all of us. Images of mobile street battles with the cops seem more exciting and militant, and may make sense in some circumstances, but what happened that day was just right.

### From The Beginning

The first event of the four days of protest occurred on Friday, May 13 at Wayne State University, where 150 people turned out to hear talks by *Kick It Over* writer and eco-feminist, Jennifer Sells and Paul Connett, a nationally recognized expert on trash disposal and opponent of incineration.

One of the concerns about the weekend felt by those of us connected with the Fifth Estate was that it carry a perspective beyond just a single-issue reform. We attempted wherever possible to have events reflect the view that the incinerator is not a "mistake," but rather that it is emblematic of the whole system of industrial capitalism. Imbedded in the waste crisis, and the attempt to buy out of it with another techno-fix, is capitalism's work pyramid, its infernal machine of relentless production, its *undisposable*, unrecyclable waste, and the hierarchical state apparatus which protects it all.

Sells' talk illustrated parts of this perspective in her criticism of liberal and marxist feminists who, she said, "do not

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challenge the hierarchical structures which are inherent in the establishment of any state, nor do they challenge an economic development model which sees the natural world as mere raw material for satisfying human needs."

"In trying to change women's position vis-a-vis men," she continued, "there has been a tendency to focus on entrenched male privilege or the need for institutional change, important though these are, while ignoring underlying hierarchical and anti-nature attitudes." (The full text of Sells' remarks are in the current *Kick It Over*).

Following Sells' remarks, Connett spoke eloquently, if only specifically, about the waste disposal crisis facing this society as he also did the next day at the demonstration rally. It was with his remarks that some of the problems began to arise, but more on this later.

The Sunday conference was the only real disappointment of the long weekend, with scant attendance for a series of presentations from a Fifth Estate staff member, a native american from Walpole Island, and representatives from Greenpeace and the Audubon Society.

### A Community of Resistance

Overall, the actions in May had a positive effect on the movement to inform people about the dangers of the incinerator and the perilous point at which the Great Lakes' ecology hovers. It also helped foster a radical, anti-industrial perspective among a growing community of resistance centered in Detroit's Cass Corridor district.

Still, in my estimation, the actions were not without problems, and ones which should be discussed thoroughly. Those of us who produce the Fifth Estate and other radicals in our community diverted a great amount of time and energy to the Evergreen Alliance, and a self-critique is necessary, both for our own evaluation and for other anti-authoritarians who may undertake similar projects.

Throughout all of the activities under discussion, it seemed that those of us who constituted the radical core of the group were acutely aware of the political differences which existed between us and the many newer people whose sole con-

Continued on Page 25



May anti-incinerator march. —photo B. Brown



# DETROIT SEEN



**Hi, remember us?** We put out a paper called the Fifth Estate every once in a while. Seriously though, we hope the reports of events in this issue such as the protests against the Detroit incinerator and the Toronto Anarchist Gathering give the idea that we've been doing more than just lazing about since our last issue. In fact, the last seven months have probably been the most active ones we've experienced in recent memory.

As the current radicalization appears to be generalizing at a rapid pace, our elation about actual events and our hopefulness about future possibilities make us want to share our reports and ideas with readers all the more. We work on the Fifth Estate out of a sense of sharing and desire for communication, not duty, so we also feel the loss when our walls are filled with blank rather than completed pages of lay-out. We want to be involved in the middle of the fray and write about it often. Hopefully, we'll be able to accomplish this and not put such spaces between issues, but we bet you've heard that promise before.

**Remember the old Joni Mitchell tune, "Big Yellow Taxi,"** with the line about putting trees "in a tree museum" and "charging a dollar just to see 'em"? Well, it looks like it's come to be with the opening of Project Nature, a 2,000 acre "nature-theme park" in Michigan's Pigeon River Hill country near the tip of the lower peninsula. Upon entering you are escorted around on a motorized tram to see "exotic animals from all over the world" (actually, mostly deer) with stops at ersatz "wild" and "Western" exhibits which have been carefully manicured out of what once was an *authentic* wilderness. Perhaps most pathetic is the "Vistacore Theatre" which promises 27 projectors and multiple screens to allow the modern viewer to experience a vivid, sensory view of man's relationship with the natural world." One doesn't know whether tears or anger is most appropriate when confronted with an image of a wage-worker on a two week vacation sitting in an air-conditioned theatre trying to find the exquisiteness of nature through a celluloid representation.

**The well-known witch Starhawk** spoke about empowerment to 300 people (80% of them women) in a Detroit suburb on April 25. The slides illustrating her talk consisted of many images of the goddess taken from varied societies and eras. Starhawk looked and acted a little like a mother-goddess herself.

Although some of the literature distributed that night heightened that impression and smacked of cult of personality, Starhawk spoke humbly of her insecurities and choices. Stories about her own activities centered on civil disobedience and communal living. Her gentle advice to isolated individuals was to try to find others to work on a common project, and she warned us to try to be

as non-judgmental of others as possible.

Starhawk provided only general attributes of the goddess: nurturing and nature-centeredness. She carefully avoided the traditional political vocabulary, words like "platform," "mobilize" and "parties." Starhawk seemed to be familiar with the political terms as well as their role in unfortunate historical precedents where individuals had been transformed into a mass. She tried to communicate a vision which could avoid the pitfalls of earlier attempts to "organize."

The audience listened politely but unenthusiastically to her words. Her mention of affinity groups did not rouse them. The collective pagan ritual which followed her talk generated a lot more interest. Everyone was invited to take part in it; many participants seemed to hope ecstasy would come from the chants and gestures and some *did* respond uniquely and creatively.

There seemed to be little connection between specific concerns and the all-purpose incantations. Starhawk mentioned more than once the up-coming actions against the Detroit incinerator, but only one participant picked up on her cue.



—Lowell Boilleau

**Eat the Rich Dept.: Shades of the Great Gatsby or Louis XVI:** Lee Iacocca's income for 1987 was \$17.9 million as Chairman of the Chrysler Corp. This kingly sum exceeded the total personal income of all the residents of Upper Michigan's Keewenaw County by \$1 million and topped the annual budget of Petosky, Michigan (a medium size city) by \$7 million. Such immense personal wealth passes mere commodity consumption no matter how grandiose the lifestyle and translates into *social* power—the ruling class personified. The fact that Iacocca can actually be admired by great sections of the American public for his gluttonous lifestyle while millions go homeless and hungry speaks reams to how deeply engrained is the culture the rich and powerful rule by.

**Many liberal and Christian peace**

groups have given great praise to the organization of Detroit mothers working to stop the violence and drug use among the city's teenagers. The group called Save Our Sons and Daughters (SOSAD) has been compared to the Mothers of the Disappeared groups in Central America.

However, on a recent march down Woodward Avenue, the SOSAD banner was carried by the ROTC unit of a local high school. The students were out in full uniform complete with boots, silver helmets and mock rifles. The message sent out by the march is very disturbing.

SOSAD has a commitment to stop youth-on-youth violence in Detroit, but by including the ROTC contingent in their march, it implies an approval of American youth killing the youth of other countries in wars for the interests of the U.S. government and corporations.

The Mothers of the Disappeared in Central America have engaged in spirited resistance to the government death squads funded by the U.S. Their American counterparts seem not to recognize the U.S. government's role in oppressing this country's inner city youth. By encouraging ROTC and military service, SOSAD has falsified any comparison between them and the mothers in Central America.

**Thousands of Yahoos arrived at the Highland Recreation area near Detroit** in July for the National Campers/Hikers Association's annual "Campvention." The required gear for their giant camp-out included 30 ft. recreational vehicles, complete with VCRs, microwaves, air conditioners and golf carts to get around in. County officials spent two years fighting off environmentalist objections to the planned decimation of the area to make it suitable for the campers. In the end, the county cleared 120 acres, cutting down 26,000 trees to turn a once beautiful wooded terrain into a giant parking lot for RVs. With such a warped vision of camping and hiking by all involved, one wonders why they didn't just clear a section of the freeway and have the "Campvention" there.

**"Who the fuck are the Friends of Belle Isle?"** barked Detroit's arrogant Mayor Coleman Young when asked by reporters whether the conservation group had been consulted about his plans to turn the city's island park into a race course. Young, as usual, made the decision with only his corporate buddies in attendance. Foiled in his attempt to ruin the idyllic nature of the park with his plan to bring casino gambling to the island, he has now decided to destroy it with Formula 1 racing cars. Hizoner dodged all questions about what 60,000 drunk race fans will do to the tranquil character of the park and what the track itself will do to the habitat for the island's miniature deer.





## Industry As The Origins Of Modern Domination

# Industrial Domestication

"If science was put to the service of capital, the recalcitrant worker's docility would be assured."

—Andrew Ure, *Philosophie des manufactures*, 1835

"In the past, if anyone called a tradesman a worker, he risked a brawl. Today, when they are told that workers are what is best in the state, they all insist on being workers."

—M. May, 1948

**T**he term industrial revolution, commonly used to describe the period between 1750 and 1850, is a pure bourgeois lie, symmetrical to the lie about the political revolution. It does not include the negative and flows from a vision of history as uniquely the history of technological progress.

Here the enemy deals a double blow, legitimizing the existence of managers and hierarchy as unavoidable technical necessities, and imposing a mechanical conception of progress, which is considered a positive and socially neutral law. It is the religious moment of materialism and the idealism of matter. Such a lie was obviously destined for the poor, among whom it was to inflict long-lasting destruction.

To refute it, it is sufficient to stick to the facts. Most of the technological innovations that allowed factories to develop had previously been discovered but remained unused. Their wide-spread application was not a mechanical consequence, but stemmed from a historically-timed choice which was made by the dominant classes. And this choice was not as much a response to a concern about purely technical efficiency (which was often doubtful) as it was a strategy of *social domestication*. The pseudo-industrial revolution can thus be reduced to a project of social counter-revolution. There is only one type of progress: the progress of alienation.

Under the previously existing system, the poor still enjoyed a considerable amount of independence in the work they were obligated to perform. Its dominant form was the domestic workshop: capitalists rented tools to the workers, provided them with raw materials, and then bought the finished products dirt cheap. For the workers, exploitation was only a moment of commerce over which they had no direct control.

The poor could still consider their work an "art" over which they exercised a notable range of decision making power. But above all, they remained masters of their own time: they worked at home and could stop whenever they felt like it; their work time escaped any calculation. And, variety, as well as irre-

gularity characterized their work, since the domestic workshop was more often than not a complement to agricultural activities.

The ensuing fluctuations in industrial activity were incompatible with the harmonious expansion of commerce. Thus the poor still possessed considerable leverage, which they permanently exercised. The rerouting of raw materials was common practice, and fed a parallel market. Above all, those who worked at home could exert pressure on their employers: the frequent destruction of looms was a means of "collective bargaining by riot" (Hobsbawm). Come up with the bucks or we'll break everything!

### Factories Modeled After Prisons

It was in order to suppress the poor's threatening independence that the bourgeoisie saw itself obliged to *directly control the realm of exploitation*. This, therefore, is what governed the spread of factories. *The work sphere was to be autonomized* temporally and geographically. "It isn't as much those who are absolutely idle who wrong the public, but those who only work half the time," Ashton had already written in 1725. The military arts were applied to industry, and factories were literally modelled after prisons, which in effect made their appearance at the same time.

A vast surrounding wall separated the worker from everything that was external to work, and guards were assigned to turn back people who, at the beginning, found it natural to visit their less fortunate friends. On the inside, the initial goal of draconian regulations was to civilize the slaves. In 1770, a writer envisioned a new plan for making the poor productive: The House of Terror, in which the inhabitants would be obliged to work for 14 hours a day and controlled by keeping them on a starvation diet. His idea was not far ahead of its time a generation later, the House of Terror was simply called a factory.

It was in England that factories first became widespread. Here, the dominant classes had long overcome their internal conflicts and could thus devote themselves without restraint to the passion of commerce. The repression which followed the millenarian assault by the poor\* had also paved the way for the industrial counter-revolution.

It was the sad fate of the English poor to be the first to be subjected to the unmitigated brutality of this developing social mechanism. It goes without saying that they considered this fate an absolute degradation, and those who accepted it were scorned by their peers. At the time of the Levellers, it was already commonly considered that those who sold their labor for a salary had abandoned all the rights of "free-born Englishmen." Even before production began, the first factory owners were already experiencing difficulty recruiting workers and often had to travel long distances to locate them.

Next, it was necessary to force the poor to remain at their new jobs, which they deserted en masse. This is why the factory owners took charge of their slaves' dwellings, which functioned as the factories' anti-chambers. A vast industrial reserve army was constituted, bringing about a militarization of the totality of social life.

*Luddism* was the poor's response to this new order. During the initial decades of the 19th century, a movement dedicated to the destruction of machines developed in a climate of insurrectional fury. It was not only a question of a nostalgia for the golden age of the craftsman. Certainly the advent of the reign of the quantitative, of mass-produced shoddy merchandise was a major source of anger.

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\*The millenarian movements, active in Europe from the 13th to the 17th centuries, attempted to realize a Golden Age or state of grace in *this* life. They grew out of a messianic Christianity which saw all temporal authority—church and state—as the anti-christ and a hinderance to the arrival of the millenium, the 1000 year rule of Christ on earth. Its adherents flaunted economic, sexual, religious and civic taboos, using a wide variety of means—some of them violent—to achieve their utopia. See Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium*, an exciting and accurate, yet conservative view of the period.



Henceforth, the time it took to accomplish a task became more important than the quality of the result and this devaluation of the contents of all work accomplished led the poor to attack work in general, which thus revealed its essence. But Luddism was above all an anti-capitalist war of independence, an "attempt to destroy the new society" (Mathias). As one of their tracts read, "All nobles and tyrants must be struck down."

Luddism was heir to the millenarian movement of the preceding centuries, and although it no longer expressed itself as a universal and unifying theory, it remained radically foreign to all political outlooks and to every economic pseudo-rationalism. During the same period in France, the silk-workers uprisings, which were also directed against the process of industrial domestication, were on the contrary already contaminated by the political lie. "Their political understanding deluded them about the source of social misery and distorted their consciousness of their true goal," wrote Marx in 1844. Their slogan was "live working or die fighting."

### Imposing Industrial Logic

In England, while the nascent trade union movement was weakly repressed, and even tolerated, destroying machines was punished by death. The unwavering negativity of the Luddites made them socially intolerable. The state responded to this threat in two ways: it organized a modern professional police force, and officially recognized trade unions. Luddism was first defeated by brutal repression, and then faded away as the trade unions succeeded in imposing industrial logic. In 1920, an English observer noted with relief that "bargaining over the conditions of change has prevailed over only opposing change itself." Some progress!

Of all the slander heaped on the Luddites, the worst came from labor movement apologists, who regarded it as blind and infantile. Hence the following passage from Marx's *Capital*, representing a fundamental misinterpretation of the era: "Time and experience were needed before the workers learned to distinguish between machines themselves and the manner in which they were used by capital, and to direct their attacks against the specific social context in which they were used, and not against the physical instruments of production themselves."

This materialistic conception of the neutrality of machines sufficed to legitimize the organization of work, iron discipline (on this point Lenin was a consistent Marxist), and ultimately everything else that followed. Allegedly backwards, the Luddites at least understood that the "material instruments of production" are above all instruments of domestication whose form is not neutral because it guarantees hierarchy and dependence.

The resistance of the first factory workers manifested itself primarily over one of the rare things that belonged to them, and of which they were being dispossessed: their time. It was an old religious custom not to work on either Sunday or Monday, which was called "Holy Monday." Since Tuesdays were dedicated to recovering from two days of drinking, work could not reasonably begin until Wednesday! Widespread at the beginning of the 19th century, this holy custom subsisted until 1914 in some trades. Various coercive methods were employed by the bosses, without success, to combat this institutionalized absenteeism. It was with the introduction of trade unions that Saturday afternoons off from work were substituted for "Holy Monday." This glorious conquest meant that the work week was extended by two days!

Holy Monday did not only call into play the question of work time, but also the *use of money*, because workers did not return to work until they had spent all of their salary. From this period on, the slave was no longer considered simply a worker, but a consumer as well. The need to develop the internal market by opening it up to the poor had been theorized by Adam Smith. Moreover, as Archbishop Berkeley wrote in 1755, "wouldn't the creation of needs represent the best means of making the nation industrious?"

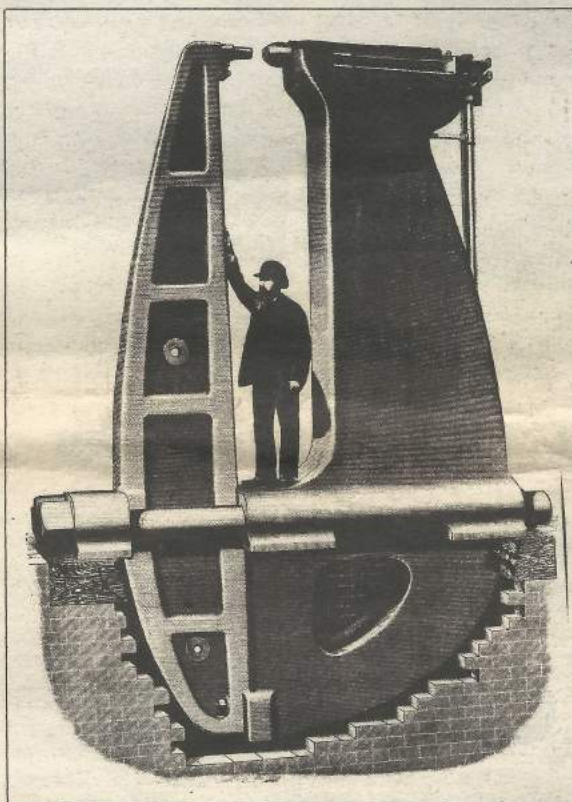
In a manner that was still marginal, the salary allot-

ed to the poor was thus adapted to the necessities of the market. But the poor did not use this additional cash as the economists predicted; the increase in salary was time gained over work (a nice twist on Benjamin Franklin's utilitarian maxim *time is money*). Time gained by being away from the factory was spent in the well-named *public houses* (during this period news of revolts was communicated from pub to pub). The more money the poor had, the more they drank.

The spirit of commodities was first discovered in liquor, to the amazement of the economists, who claimed that the poor would spend their money usefully. The temperance campaign jointly conducted by the bourgeoisie and the "advanced (and therefore sober) fractions of the working class" was more an exhortation to use their salary wisely than a response to a concern about public health (the even greater damage caused by work did not induce the bourgeoisie to call for its abolition). One hundred years later, the same sectors were unable to fathom that the poor would deprive themselves of food in order to buy a "superfluous" commodity.

### Savagery Always Returns

Propaganda to encourage saving was introduced to combat this propensity for immediate spending. And again, it was "the avant-garde of the working class" that instituted savings establishments for the poor.



**"The resistance of the first factory workers manifested itself primarily over one of the rare things that belonged to them, and of which they were being dispossessed: their time."**

Saving increased both the poor's dependence and the enemies' power: capitalists could rise above temporary crises by lowering salaries, and could accustom the workers to the idea of accepting the minimum necessary to sustain life.

But Marx, however, raises an unresolvable contradiction in the *Grundrisse*: each capitalist demands that his slaves, as workers save, *but only his workers*; for him all the other slaves are consumers and as such are obligated to spend. This contradiction could not be resolved until much later when commodity development permitted the establishment of credit for the

poor. In any event, even if the bourgeoisie had succeeded in civilizing the poor's behavior at work for the time being, it could never totally domesticate their spending. Through money, savagery always returns.

After the suppression of Holy Monday lengthened the work week, "workers from then on enjoyed their leisure time at the work place" (Geoff Brown). Slowdowns became the rule. It was the introduction of piece work that ultimately imposed discipline in the workshops, forcing diligence and productivity to increase. The major result of this system, which began to spread in the 1850's, was to compel the workers to *internalize industrial logic*: to earn more, it was necessary to work more. This, though, had a detrimental effect on everyone else's salaries, and the less ardent could even find themselves out of a job.

The answer to the resulting all-out competition was the establishment of collective bargaining to decide the amount of work to be done and its distribution and remuneration, leading to the implementation of trade union mediation. Having won the victory over productivity, the capitalists consented to a decrease in the hours worked. The famous ten-hour law, although in effect a victory for trade unionism, represented a defeat for the poor, cementing the defeat of their long resistance to the new industrial order.

The omnipresent dictatorship of necessity was thus established. Once the vestiges of the former social order were suppressed, nothing remained that could not be reduced to the imperatives of work. The "struggle for existence" was all the poor had to look forward to. The absolute reign of necessity, however, cannot be understood as simply a quantitative increase in scarcity: it was above all the colonization of the mind by the trivial and crude principle of *utility*, a defeat for thought itself.

It is here that we measure the consequences of the crushing of the millenarian spirit that inspired the poor during the first phase of industrialization. During this period, the reign of brutal necessity was clearly conceived as being *the work of one world*: the world of the Antichrist based on property and money. The idea of the suppression of necessity was inseparable from the idea of the realization of the Garden of Eden of humanity, "the spiritual Canaan where wine, milk and honey flowed, and money did not exist" (Coppe). With the defeat of this attempted inversion, necessity attained an *appearance of immediacy*. Henceforth, scarcity appeared to be a natural calamity which only a more extensive organization of work could remedy. With the triumph of the English ideology, the poor, who were already completely dispossessed, saw themselves deprived of even the idea of plenitude.

### The Puritans—Scum

It was in Protestantism, and more precisely its Anglo-Saxon Puritan variation, that the cult of utility and progress found its source and legitimacy. Having made religion a private affair, the protestant ethic confirmed the social atomization caused by industrialization: individuals found themselves alone before God in the same way they found themselves isolated with respect to commodities and money. As well, it professed the precise values that were required of the poor: honesty, frugality, abstinence, thrift and work.

The Puritans, scum who relentlessly fought against parties, games, debauchery and everything that was opposed to the logic of work, and saw the millenarian spirit as the "stifling of the spirit of enterprise" (Webb in 1644), paved the way for the industrial counter-revolution. Moreover, it can be said that the Reformation was the prototype for reformism: as the product of a dissent, it, in turn, favored all dissenting points of view. It "did not demand that one become a Puritan; it demanded that one be a believer. Any religion would do."

It was in 1789, in France, that these principles were to be fully realized, as they definitively shed their religious form and took on a universal one through law and politics. France was a latecomer to the industrial process: an irreconcilable conflict be-

Continued on Page 7



# Industrial Domestication

Continued from Page 6

tween the bourgeoisie and a nobility that was wary of any mobilization of money. Paradoxically, it was this delay that led the bourgeoisie to advocate the most modern approach.

In Great Britain, where the dominant classes had long ago merged along a common historical path, "the Declaration of Human Rights took form, dressed not in a Roman toga, but in a robe of the Old Testament prophets" (Hobsbawm). This is precisely the limit, the incomplete nature of the English theoretical counter-revolution. Citizenship was still ultimately based on a doctrine of *election*, through which the elect recognized each other by the fruits of their labor and their moral adhesion to this world. This excluded *rabble*, which could still dream of a land of plenty.

The initial goal of forced labor in the factories was, above all, to limit this threatening potential, and to integrate it through a powerful social mechanism. The lies of the English bourgeoisie still lacked the refinement which characterized their counterparts on the other side of the Channel, which allowed the latter to dispossess the poor, initially, through ideology. Even today, the English defenders of the Old World project their moral rectitude as opposed to their political opinions. The particularly visible and arrogant frontier which separates the rich from the poor in this country (France) is at par with the feeble penetration of the concept of individual and legal equality.

While Puritan moral indoctrination had the initial effect of unifying and comforting everyone who had a particular interest to defend in a changing and uncertain world, it devastated the lower classes, who already found themselves bent under the yoke of work and money, and put the finishing touches on their defeat. Thus Ure recommended that his peers maintain the "moral machinery" with as much care as the "mechanical machinery" in order to "make obedience acceptable." But, above all, this moral machinery was to reveal its harmful effects when it was adopted by the poor, stamping its imprint on the nascent labor movement.

## The Campaign to Civilize the Poor

Worker sects multiplied, and Methodists, Wesleyans, Baptists, and others recruited as many faithful as the Church of England, a state institution. In the hostile environment of the new industrial sites, the shivering workers withdrew to the solace of the chapel. There is always a tendency to rationalize insults when revenge does not take place: the new workers' morality turned poverty into a state of grace and austerity into a virtue.

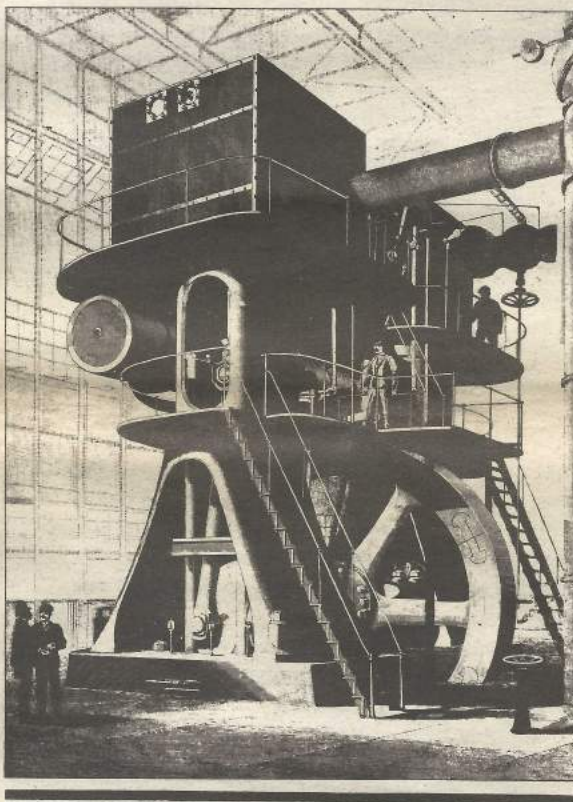
In the industrial areas, the union was the direct offspring of the chapel, and lay preachers were transformed into trade union representatives. The campaign to civilize the poor that was conducted by the bourgeoisie gained the upper hand over social hatred only on the rebound, once it had been relayed by the workers' representatives, who, in their struggles against their masters, now spoke the same language as they did. But religious forms that the domestication of thought could still assume was only an epiphenomenon. Its more efficient basis was the economic lie.

This contradiction is raised, very appropriately, by John and Paula Zerzan: "It was during the second third of the 19th century, when poor were subjected to the most degrading and mutilating conditions in every aspect of their lives, and when all resistance to the founding of the new capitalist order was defeated, that Marx, Engels and their epigones greeted with satisfaction the birth of 'the revolutionary army of work,' and considered that the objective conditions for a victorious assault had finally come together.

In his famous 1864 address to the International Workingmen's Association, Marx began by drawing up a detailed portrait of the appalling situation of the English poor and went on to applaud "marvelous successes" such as the ten-hour day law (we've already seen what that was worth) and the establishment of manufacturing cooperatives, which represented "a victory of the political economy of work over the political economy of property"! If Marxist commentators have amply described the horrifying fate of 19th century workers, they consider this fate to a certain extent inevitable and beneficial. It was inevitable because it was the unavoidable consequence of the demands of science and of a necessary development of "the relations of production." It was beneficial to the extent that "the proletariat was united, disciplined, and organized by the mechanisms of production" (Marx).

The workers' movement was founded on a purely defensive basis. The first workers' associations were "associations of resistance and mutual aid." But if the poor in revolt had always previously seen themselves *negatively*, and had identified with their enemies' class, it was in and through work, which was forced to become the center of their existence, that workers came to seek a positive community, one that was produced not by themselves, but by an external mechanism.

The "aristocratic minority" of skilled workers was



**"There is always a tendency to rationalize insults when revenge does not take place; the new workers' morality turned poverty into a state of grace and austerity into a virtue."**

the initial incarnation of this ideology—"the sector that was of interest to politicians and from which originated those whom society was only too pleased to rush to salute as the representatives of the working class," as Edith Simcox pertinently noted in 1880. The immense mass of still intermittent and unskilled workers could not belong. They were the only ones who, when the trade unions' doors opened, preserved the legendary savage and combative spirit of the English workers—beginning a long cycle of social struggles, violent at times, but lacking a unifying principle. "Although the revolutionary initiative will proba-

bly begin in France, only England can serve as the *lever* for a serious economic revolution.(...) The English have all the necessary *material* for the social revolution. What they lack is the *generalizing spirit* and the *revolutionary passion*." This late 19th Century declaration by the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association contains both the truth and the false consciousness of an epoch. From a social viewpoint, England has always been an *enigma*: the country that gave birth to modern conditions of exploitation, and was therefore the first to produce large masses of modern poor, is also the country where institutions have remained unchanged for three centuries and the one that has never been shaken by a revolutionary assault.

## Ready to Take to the Barricades

This is what distinguishes it from the nations of the European continent and contradicts the Marxist concept of revolution. Commentators have attempted to explain this enigma as a British atavism which led to the continually repeated tall tales about the reformist and anti-theoretical character of the English poor compared to the radical consciousness animating the poor in France, who were always ready to take to the barricades. This type of ahistorical outlook fails to remember the abundance of theory during the civil war years of the 17th century and then forgets the persistence and violence which have always characterized the social struggles of the English poor, struggles which have never ceased to increase since the middle of this century. In reality, the enigma is resolved as follows: *the revolt of the poor always depends on what it confronts*.

In England, it was through the brutal force of a social mechanism and without flowery phrases that the dominant classes carried out their enterprise of domestication. English historians often find it deplorable that the "industrial revolution" was not accompanied by a "cultural revolution" that would have integrated the poor into the "industrial spirit" (such considerations multiplied in the 70's, when the extension of wildcat strikes acutely revealed its importance).

In France, the bourgeois counter-revolution was above all theoretical; domination was exercised through politics and law, "the miracle that has kept people in a state of abuse since 1789" (Louis Blanc). These principles represented a universal project: the promise that the poor would be able to participate when they adopted the structures in place. Around 1830, a sector of the poor took on the role of speaking on behalf of this promise, demanding that "men who have been made inferior be given their dignity as citizens" (Proudhon). Beginning in 1848, the same principles were invoked against the bourgeoisie in the name of the "republic of work." And it is common knowledge to what extent the dead weight of 1789 would play a role in the crushing of the Commune.

This social project split in two in the 19th century. In England, the capital of capital, social struggles were unable to merge into a unified assault, becoming travesties that remained on a level of "economic" struggles. In France, the cradle of reformism, this unitary assault remained restricted to a political form, leaving the last word to the state. The secret of the absence of a revolutionary movement across the Channel is therefore identical to that of the defeat of the revolutionary movements on the continent.

We have described the beginnings of a process that is now reaching completion: the classical labor movement is definitely integrated into civil society and a new project of industrial domestication is now underway. Today the grandeur, as well as the limits of the movements of the past, which inevitably determine social conditions in each region of this world, have become fully clear.

—Leopold Roc

Translated from the French journal *Os Cangaceiros* (Les Jardins de Provence, 3 rue Dancourt, 75018 Paris, France) by Michael William and Sandy Beach.

\*Originally appeared in the October 1977 Fifth Estate, but now out-of-print. Now available in John Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal*, a collection of his essays (see bookstore page).



# May/June 1968

## The Battle For France

**FE Note:** What follows are thoughts on the revolutionary upsurge which shook France 20 years ago. Although ultimately unsuccessful, the message is that revolt is possible in modern society. In ours today, it is not the cops which prevent revolt, but the inertia of what is—the weight of the present.

The introductory section is from the fine, new magazine, *No Picnic*, Spring 1988, Box 69393, Stn. K, Vancouver BC, Canada V5K 4W6; \$1.50 per issue. The piece from Fredy Perlman, written from a participant's viewpoint, appeared in *Worker-Student Action Committees*, co-authored by R. Gregoire, 1968, \$2 from FE Books. The excerpt from Jacques Camatte appeared originally in the Nov. 1978 Fifth Estate and is available at \$1. Also recommended is *Paris: May 1968*, by Solidarity, available from FE Books for \$3.

Nobody predicted it... Oh sure, later, the specialists all pointed to so-called "objective conditions," and described how this condition and that and the other brought about "the moment." But still, no one predicted it. It came as a surprise. A great shock to some. Those who had something to lose. To others it was an explosion of freedom, of power, a celebration of life and love.

Large student movements had developed in Japan, West Germany, the United States, Italy and elsewhere. In France it quickly grew into a mass movement that sought to overthrow the socio-economic structure of capitalist society. The University of Nanterre in Paris was shut down by the Dean on May the 2nd. The next day the Sorbonne was closed and riot police were sent in to attack student demonstrators. This set off a chain reaction. Students ejected from their universities took to the streets, drawing layers upon layers of new people into the struggle. For a week the demonstrations grew larger and more militant. On May 10th some 50,000 decided to occupy the traditional student part of the city, the Latin Quarter. They built over 60 barricades in the streets with newspaper stands, automobiles, construction equipment and whatever else was at hand. The police were ordered to clear the streets. The resulting battle lasted several hours, with repeated charges by club-swinging riot police firing a deluge of phosphorus grenades and

teargas at the students who responded with molotov cocktails, homemade smokebombs and cobblestones torn from the streets. Hundreds of police and demonstrators were injured, many of them seriously.

Up to this point, the newspapers, including the Communist Party organ, *L'Humanite*, had characterized the student movement as "tiny groups" and "adventurist extremist." After the brutality of the 10th, the Communist Party-led union, the CGT, called for a general strike. On May 13th, over 800,000 people hit the streets of Paris to demonstrate against the state repression; these were no tiny groups. The next day the factory of Sud Aviation was taken over by its workers who held the chairman hostage. On the 15th, numerous plants were taken over by workers, including the automobile producer Renault. Students and workers occupy the French national theatre, the Odeon, and plant revolutionary red and black flags on its dome, announcing an end to a culture limited to only the economic elite.

Students have taken over the universities and are organizing committees of action and factory occupations continue to spread while the radio stations continue to broadcast that the students are concerned only with final examinations and workers only with improving their salaries.

Inside the liberated universities, the state, the ministries, the faculty and student government bodies are no longer recognized. A vast experiment is taking place. Laws are now being made in the lecture halls and auditoriums by "general assemblies." There is a great explosion of creativity. Art and posters quickly cover the walls everywhere. Spray paint is the most popular medium of communication. Walls now captured the imagination of passersby with their scrawled words, much of it inspired by the Situationists.

"Power to the imagination!" "Forbidden is forbidden!" "Only the truth is revolutionary!" Posters reflected the deeply libertarian philosophy; "Humanity will only be happy when the last capitalist is strangled with the guts of the last bureaucrat!" "Culture is disintegrating. Create!" "I take my dreams as reality for I believe in the reality of my dreams!" University corridors sprang to life with poster wisdom; "Workers of all lands, enjoy yourselves!" "Those who carry out a revolution only halfway,



### "Power to the Imagination" — 1968 Situationist slogan

merely dig their own graves. (St. Just)" "Long live communication! Down with telecommunication!" "We will claim nothing. We will ask for nothing. We will take! We will occupy!"

Action committees established contacts with striking workers and leaflets informed them of the experiences of direct democracy taking place at the universities.

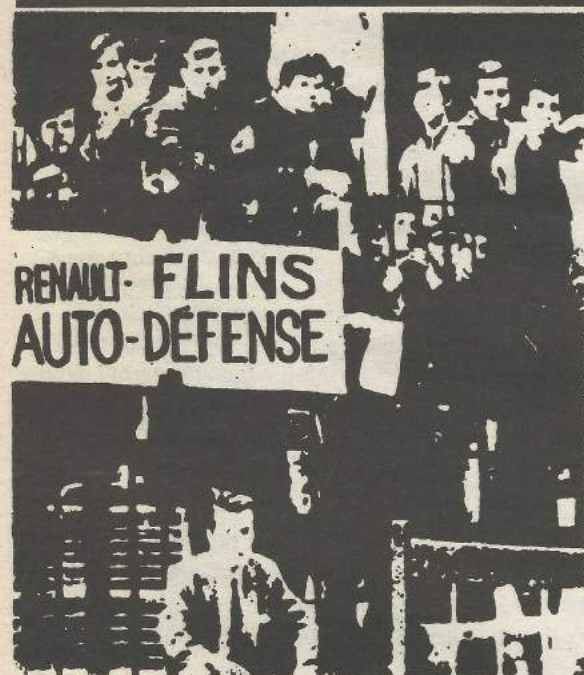
The insurrection quickly spreads throughout Paris and the rest of the country. France is brought to its knees. The impossible, the unimagined has happened. The world is shocked. DeGaulle orders the army and the police to stay in their barracks and stations, for their safety cannot be guaranteed.

But something is amiss. The worker-student action committees are met at factories with the gates closed. The Communist union reps inside tell the committees to go home. Workers, isolated in their homes and locked out of their factories, through radio, T.V. and the papers, hear only of workers demanding pay raises. No talk of workers demanding self-control over factories and an end to the bourgeois-capitalist state.

Inside the factories the reactionary union bosses control the loudspeakers and the presses, repeating over and over that their leaders are working hard, negotiating to increase their wages and improve working conditions. Workers are told to stay away from the student "provocateurs."

The trade union hierarchy was a negative force on the revolution. They had but one objective; to strengthen their own position of power within the existing social system.

At this point the insurrection began to die. DeGaulle called in all of the troops at his disposal, including the Gaullist Action Civile—hundreds of thousands of petit bourgeois supporters frightened by recent events hit the streets where the workers still had control. Riot police re-occupied factories. ■



### "The confrontation between French state capitalism and a determined revolutionary movement caught both sides by surprise." — Fredy Perlman

The explosion which paralyzed France in May 1968 was a frustrated revolution and a clear warning. It represents a frustrated revolution to the students and workers who were rushing, almost blind with joy and enthusiasm, into a new society. But the revolt and the strike are a warning to all ruling classes, a warning to capitalists and bureaucrats, to governments and unions. The frustrated revolutionaries are beginning to take stock of the accomplishments and are attempting to pinpoint the shortcomings.

However, the revolutionaries are not the only ones who are taking stock. The forces of repression are also undertaking the task of analyses; they too are taking stock of the accomplishments, or rather the dangers unveiled for them in May '68. And the revolutionaries will not be the only ones who will prepare

for the next crises; the ruling classes will also prepare, and not only in France. Politicians, bureaucrats and capitalists will define the forms of the May revolution, so as to prevent their re-appearance; they will study the sequence of events, so as to prevent a recurrence of May 1968.

The sequence of events which led to a sudden confrontation between French state capitalism and a determined revolutionary movement caught both sides by surprise. Neither side was prepared. But the moment of hesitation was fatal only to the revolutionaries; the ruling class took advantage of the brief pause to extinguish the fire. The fact that only one side gained from the pause is understandable; the revolutionaries would have had to rush into the unexplored, the unknown, whereas the "forces of order"



were able to fall back to well known, in fact classical forms of repression.

The revolutionary movement rushed forward at a tremendous speed, reached a certain line, and then suddenly disoriented, confused, perhaps afraid of the unknown, stopped just long enough to allow the enormous French police forces to push the movement back, disperse it and destroy it. Reflection now begins on both sides. Revolutionaries are beginning to define the line which was reached; they are determined to go beyond it "next time." They had come so close, and yet were pushed back so far! To many it was clear that steps into the unknown had been taken, that the line had in fact been crossed, that the sea had in fact begun to flow over the dam.

The ruling classes have been warned; one must assume that they will take the necessary precautions. Analyses of the particular cracks in the dam through which the floodwaters rushed will be undertaken by both sides. Such analyses will be a documentation of a particular event, a history of a revolution that failed.

On the basis of this documentation, ruling classes will prepare themselves to prevent the recurrence of the same event. This is why revolutionaries cannot use the documentation as a basis for the preparation of a future event: the same cracks will not be found twice in the same dam; they will have been repaired and the entire dam will have been raised. A future tidal wave will find new cracks in the dam, cracks which are as invisible to insurgents as to defenders of the old order.

Historians will describe through which cracks the sea rushed in May 1968. The task of revolutionary theory is to analyze the sea itself; the task of revolutionary action is to create a new tidal wave. If the sea represents the entire working population, and if the tidal wave represents the determination to reappropriate all the forms of social power which have been alienated to capitalists and bureaucrats at all levels of social life, then new cracks will be found, and if the dam is immaculate it will be swept away in its entirety. ■

## **"Marxism is everywhere the most effective force opposing the passionate desire to live."**

— Jacques Camatte

Even before 1968 . . . young people took over the streets and destroyed everything in their path without articulating the slightest political, trade-unionist or other demand. They were expressing the inexpressible: the insanity and their desire to rid themselves of it. But where does this madness come from? May-June 1968 visibly exposed its origins.

The exposure even cuts through the extensive recuperation which has taken place since May 1968. Advertising has understood the profound desire of human beings and since it essentially employs a language of diversion, it has to know exactly what it is dealing with. The desire for communication, for nature, for a more leisurely rhythm which is both more human and more universal, has to be diverted toward the consumption of capital, either in a form which is both material and representational for those with money-capital or else simply in a representational form for those without.

The emergence of these profound desires, even if they are incorporated in representations which remain within the realm of capital, has exposed another essential component of our world: marxism as repressive consciousness. Marxism is everywhere the most effective force opposing the passionate desire to live; anarchism in its non-violent and individualist forms still retains certain elements of rebellion. It is due to marxism that the capitalist mode of production was able to achieve real domination and could become universal. In fact, without marxism, the capitalist mode of production could not have penetrated into regions such as those controlled today by the USSR, China or the African countries. In this sense, it plays the same role as christianity vis-a-vis the Roman Empire. The true universality of the Empire was, in fact, brought to it by the religion which, at its origins, had called for its destruction. . . .

The mechanism of perverting rebellion . . . consists of outbidding on the left, where each person wants to be more left, more extreme than the person who has just been recognized as such because of a contribution to the so-called revolutionary debate. As a result, human beings no longer have time to structure their revolt before it is contemptuously pointed out to them that it lacks foundation, truth, that there is something more revolutionary than what they propose. Revolutionary theory becomes, like pleasure, something which is never achieved. One sinks into the undefined and the fleeting.

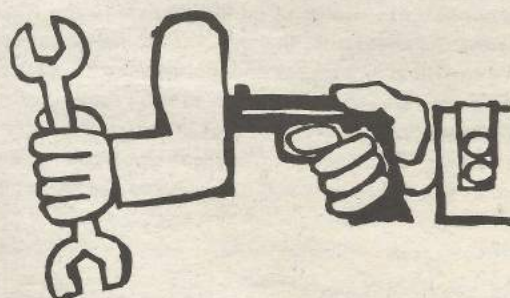
At present, life is transformed into branches of learning . . . ; furthermore, the possible is transformed into knowledge. Various researches in revolution are in quest of the new and as soon as they perceive the slightest tremor or twitch of something unusual,

the assertion of the most insignificant original idea, they take hold of it, circumscribe it, theorize about it, and extrapolate its implications. Or else they use it to revise their earlier representation.

In any case, they put together something which is supposed to be operational and fling it onto the market. The originator of the insight or deed discovers that his or her intuition or impulse is vulgarized, capitalized. They cannot help being disgusted by what they were able to do and even of themselves. Possibilities are transformed into representations and even when, occasionally men and women might have it in their power to conceive and work something out and thus to live, they have the sensation of *deja vu*, the feeling that it is banal, inessential; that it isn't worth the trouble. Discouragement is the result and it is all the more acute because they realize that with the various theoretical elements, with the different possibilities for materializing projects which present themselves, there are infinite combinations.

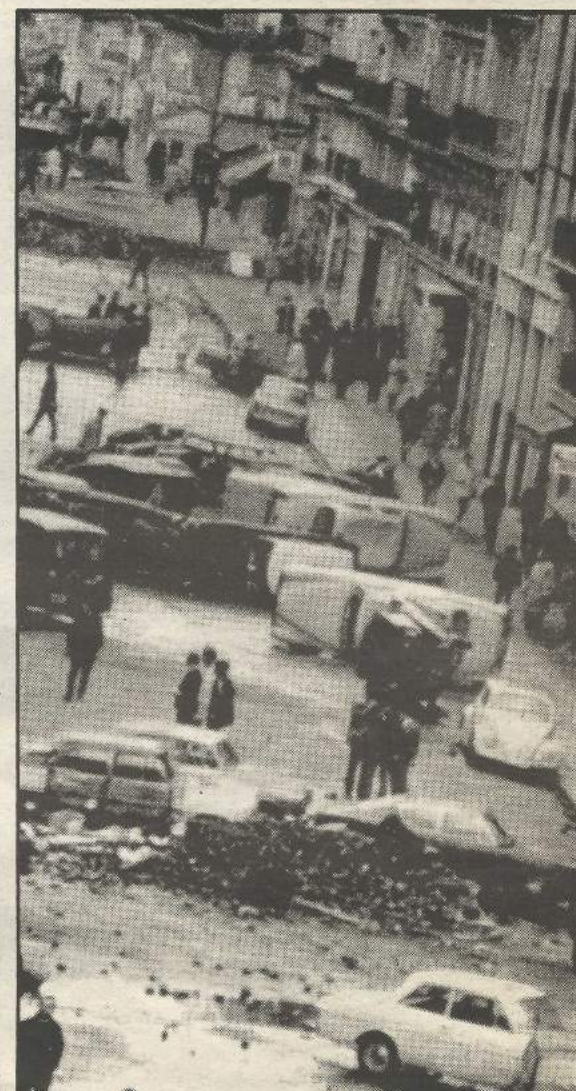
Only by throwing oneself into another dynamic, by adopting another frame of reference other than capital, is it possible to avoid all this perversion-destruction. And as the catastrophic phenomena inherent in the development of our world are confirmed, the abolished obstacles will clearly be recognized as abolished and men and women will have to choose: either to remain in the community of capital or to leave it. At that point, we will see that this alternative was revealed by May-June 1968.

The rupture which it has brought about permits us to emerge from a mythicized past which continues to make myths of itself, as well as from an idealized future, vaguely projected, seemingly close at hand but always relegated to the future; it also helps us attempt to grasp all the coordinates of time, find the space and adopt the behavior which will unify the whole in a life, henceforth outside the life of capital. ■



**To Work Now Is To Work With A Pistol In Your Back!**  
— 1968 Poster

Street barricades in the Latin Quarter, 1968. —photo, cover of Paris: May 1968



## **Leaflet from France 1988 "Election Eve Massacre"**

**FE Note:** The following is a reprint of a leaflet distributed in France following the pre-election May 5, 1988 massacre on New Caledonia which resulted in the release of 23 hostages, but left 19 native people, Kanaks, and two French gendarmes dead.

The French army has once again accomplished one of its familiar exploits: its shock troops spent eight hours massacring nineteen rebels. The electoral schemes of scoundrels have caused the deaths of yet more Kanaks.

**They are dead because they did not want to be French.**

**How we identify with them! We don't want to be French either.** We don't want to have anything, not even so much as a legal abstraction—nationality—in common with the assassins of the GIGN and the DGSE, nor with the Socialist or Chiracian chiefs. As immigrants of the second, third or twelfth generation, we don't give a shit for the French national identity which the politicians are always jabbering about. Here in our part of the world, the Economy—Capitalism's other name—drained all meaningful reality out of the concept of roots a long time ago.

Unlike us, the Kanaks have the sad privilege of living in a community which continues to rebel against modern—namely, capitalist—rationality. The neo-OAS gangsters and the scumbag soldiers massacring them are the vanguard of social relations organized around competition between individuals and universal submission to an abstract monster, the Economy.

The Kanaks' lifestyle retains a quality that ours has abandoned: a way of being together which avoids being marketed.

The men being massacred are our brothers. In these days which shame all humanity, we shout alongside them: **DOWN WITH FRANCE!**

—Partisan of the Human Community



## Not Threatened

To the FE:

EB Maple's recent attack on Earth First! sounds like it was written by a frustrated armchair academician who likes to fashion him/herself the ultimate Free Thinker. How tired I am of people who are so bogged down in rhetoric, they can't even recognize who's on their side and who's not.

I'm an Earth Firster and I'm a woman. I consider myself a feminist and a warrior, and I'm damned proud of it. I am not at all threatened by the "macho" or "rowdy" or "redneck" tone of EF!, nor by what you refer to as the "male centrality," and there's a reason for it. Simply, there's too much work to be done. I haven't the time to sit around and listen to a bunch of angry victims—female or not—rap on and on about the evils of anything that reeks of male energy.

Things masculine are good and useful as are things feminine. Most EF!ers are motivated by a very sensitive and feminine love of the Earth. Our response, however, is often very masculine, as we are warriors, battling what we see as a crazy destructive, civilization.

Ynestra King insults me to describe EF! as a "bunch of guys who have set themselves up as the self-appointed protectors of another virgin..." Perhaps Ms. King should have joined us at the recent EF! Women's Rendezvous in the California desert. There she would have seen a sizeable group of powerful women warriors, women who aren't afraid to pick up a monkeywrench and apply it where it will do the most good, ignoring the risk. These brave women are not only independent thinkers, but many are important and respected leaders in Earth First! Perhaps before you devote such a sizeable portion of your paper to ripping us apart, you should get to know who we really are, outside of our journal.

Don't worry about the direction Earth First! is going in. Our love of things wild and our individual dedication will be the only guides we ever will listen to, and it will keep us vibrant, fighting, non-compromising, strong and hopefully effective. But thanks for your concern.

A New Mexico Woman  
Albuquerque, NM

Lynne Clive responds:

I'd like to affirm something you said at the end of your letter—our love of things wild certainly links us—you and me, many people who work with EF!, the few of us who for years have been working on the FE, and many individuals not connected to these projects.

I feel that love and respect for the earth includes a similar regard for genuine human community, and that being a part of humankind (and acknowledging that it, along with the earth, has been exploited and fragmented) we cannot consider one without the other.

In contrast to you, I am threatened and insulted by the "macho," "redneck," "male centrality" of the EF! journal. These characteristics are the cornerstones of the patriarchal, hierarchical civilization which conquered and destroyed the wilderness and earth based cultures. Working with individual "redneck macho" men on actions to save the earth is one thing, but it's very different and very danger-



## Deep Ecology Debate Continues Earth First!ers Respond

The following is a sampling of letters we have received from supporters of Earth First! who have taken exception to our criticisms of the radical environmental group in our last two issues (see Fall 1987 and Spring 1988 FEs). The debate is too long to recount in its entirety, but its broader aspects can be recounted thusly:

Earth First! embraces a philosophy of environmentalism—deep ecology—which posits a biocentric (equality of all organisms) rather than an anthropocentric (human centered) world view. Deep ecology accurately describes the depths of the current ecological crisis and often can show insights into its root causes, but fails to understand the centrality of the social component in searching for explanations. In refusing to see the system of capitalism as being fundamental to the degradation of the environment, it places it as only one of a number of human created "problems." Instead, they indict the entire human species as being responsible without differentiating between sex, race, class or geography.

As deep ecology's most militant exponent, Earth First! has been severely criticized by this paper and others for a misanthropic stance which has tipped over into racism, patriotism and a self-serving Malthusianism, which rather than going beyond "left and right" as they contend, has come down decidedly on the side of the latter. The Fifth Estate also made the contention that Earth First! is dominated by the style and politics of the editor of their newspaper, Dave Foreman, who gives it a macho, redneck image while shutting out all criticism.

The letters herein have been edited for space as have the FE responses. We will send the complete texts to anyone who desires them. Though many other letters failed to make these pages which were both supportive of our position and critical, they may appear in subsequent issues with full responses.

In the main we are heartened by the letters from the supporters of EF!, but one wonders why more of their statements haven't shown up in their own newspaper. It appears that EF!'s much crowed about "diversity" is somewhat more widespread than appears from reading Foreman's tightly edited paper. And, that is exactly the nub of the problem: the paper defines for all practical purposes an official party line which is the way in which those outside of the activist core view the movement. Also, it is on the basis of the non-diverse political pronouncements of the Tucson inner circle that new people will be attracted to the movement.

Several anarchists have written us stating their support of EF!, but it seems they do so only by ignoring the dark side of the group. While doing many worthwhile projects in defense of the planet, EF!'s calls for protecting the U.S. borders against Hispanic immigrants and cheering AIDS as population control makes us ask, what is the role of these anti-authoritarians within the local groups? If Foreman/Abbeyism is allowed to remain ascendant within EF!, the movement will travel down the road to right-wing reaction.

We are not an enemy of EF!; we are its critic. It was because of this posture that we found nothing inconsistent in some of us taking part in the April 27 National Days of Outrage against the abuses of the U.S. Forest Service's rape of the Wilderness (see photo). We continue to express encouragement for much of the ecological writing in the EF! paper and for the actions of their local groups. However, we would be remiss not to continue a criticism that in many instances has become a dialogue with those in Earth First! with whom we share the same revolutionary passion for a defense of the wilderness and a ridding of the planet of this vile civilization.

ous to support that kind of male posturing in the EF! journal. If there are brave, independent thinking women EF! activists (and I know there are), why is their

voice not strongly represented in the EF! journal?

Realizing that the journal was NOT representative of people like you was

what led us to critique it in part. And many of the letters we've received from EF! activists who don't work on the journal confirm our criticisms. Many of them realize that we were not "ripping you apart" in the FE; our focus was rather the faulty misleading ideas put forth in the journal and articulated by many deep ecologists and neo-malthusians who have influenced people like Foreman and Abbey.

I sympathize with your frustrations --wanting and trying so passionately to save what remains of the natural world from corporate greed, from industry, "progress," development, from a fragmented society that denigrates the earth in countless routinized daily activities. We have been conscious of this deadly leviathan for a long time, and our frustration led us to analyze, critique, expose it, as well as to participate in actions that challenge its constant encroachment in our daily lives.

We must be very careful with our ideas. It is one thing to have a misanthropic sense of humor and say, "fuck the human race" to your friends in a bar or even on an action, but it's entirely different to push this attitude in a journal that prints thousands of copies and influences countless people who are coming to an environmental consciousness from numerous diverse perspectives. The media (and alternative media as well) have power beyond the control of the individuals who work on it. Clever condemnations of the sanctuary movement and racist statements against Mexicans, for example, should not be tolerated in a truly ecological journal. Having been involved in work to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and to support Guatemalan indigenous peoples, I was personally insulted and extremely disappointed to read such statements in EF! If you can get a hold of a book by a Guatemalan indian woman entitled *I... Rigoberta Menchu*, please read it and perhaps you'll understand some of our dismay. It's people like Rigoberta that Foreman would like to ("sadly" he says) send back to their "unfortunate fates" (ie, certain death at the hands of U.S. backed death squads).

I do worry about the direction of EF! and of the entire environmental movement. If our love of things wild includes a love and respect for people like Rigoberta (who comes from a native culture more in tune with and integrated in the natural world than you or I will ever be) then I would worry much less. If you want to say "fuck the human race" then start with the corporate fat cats who finance and master-mind development projects and leave the Rigobertas of the world to teach us the old ways.

FE Note: The above mentioned book, *I... Rigoberta Menchu An Indian Woman In Guatemala* has just arrived in the Fifth Estate Bookstore. See book page for description and ordering information.

## Organize Diversity

Dear George Bradford & Fifth Estate,

I have a few comments on your recent effort to criticize Earth First! While it is a nice piece of scholarship and does a good job of illuminating the fuzzy thinking behind some statements in the EF! journal regarding immigration and third world populations, you are really missing





some important points of the deep ecology perspective. Yes, its various proponents are naive or mistaken on several subjects, but you are reading far more serious flaws into their thought than actually exist. For one, I am really sick of seeing the term "fascist" thrown around so irresponsibly. Yes, Foreman, Abbey and some others have redneck roots, but for rednecks they have come a long way! Especially Foreman.

I've had an opportunity to communicate with Foreman recently, and the criticisms of life boat ethics, etc. have made him think. It's good they were undertaken. But who really cares what Foreman thinks? Sure he has editorial control over a journal. So do you for that matter. I don't agree with everything you say, but I still like to read the FE. By now I have met a lot of people through EF! Most everyone is very individual and has strong and differing opinions on everything. Fact is, EF! is striving to organize on the principle of diversity: rednecks, feminists, anarchists, pagans; if all are strong, none will dominate. Yes, this group was founded by rednecks and retains some of that flavor. I find it amusing at times, stupid at others, but not a *dangerous tendency*.

As for your pals from Alien-nation, I was present at most of the events described in their report. I too was upset by the way the rendezvous committee handled them, they are due for major criticism on that score. However, I could not help but feel that Alien-nation came to the RRR not intending to communicate, but to get in a big confrontation and fight and get high on the adrenalin rush. I say this for two reasons. One, they had very obnoxious and aggressive "debating" style, especially their big man (I don't remember his name, but he wore a black t-shirt the whole time and acted like a typical vulgar Marxist). Two, at the anarchist potluck which I helped organize there was far more interest and support for anarchy than opposition or reservations. I was very heartened by the discussion; there was quite a lot of criticism of the Tucson bias. Alien-nation, however, only says they were personal anarchists and somehow limited. Come on, didn't we all learn long ago that the personal is political? These things make me feel that they came to the RRR with

their minds made up and were only seeking validation, evidence.

Finally, a few words about deep ecology. You really give your misunderstanding away George, on page 4 where you decry "deep ecology's . . . refusal to place the environmental crisis within its social, economic and political context . . ." What is wrong with admitting that there may be more instructive contexts than the social, economic and political? Personally, I am more of a Stirnerite, but if I am going to approach things in terms of an enlightened self interest, I find it more valid to consider the whole of the earth and not just the human part of it.

As far as your insistence on relating everything back to capital, capital is just the latest manifestation of dominance which has previously appeared as feudalism, patriarchy, theocracy, etc., and which arose as a result of humanity's alienation from nature. To demand an earth based culture and that earth come first seems more radical than to merely demand the end of capital. Such a view is also very consistent with the story of human oppression told by Perlman in *Against His-story, Against Leviathan*.

**Another Anarchist for  
Earth First!  
Kelpie Willsin  
Chico CA**

#### George Bradford responds:

As for "irresponsible" use of the word fascism, a rereading of my essay will only show a very careful use of the term. In my original letter to EF! I had described the "life boat ethic" of Garrett Hardin as ecofascism, and I stand by that. The "life boat ethic" argues that too many people are destroying the commons of the Earth and that the poor should be left to starve, yet says nothing about property development as a mode of capital accumulation or the nation state (except to affirm it).

This pseudo-radicalism is very reminiscent of fascism, appealing as it does to nationalism and concealing the real, material institutions of global capitalism that are destroying nature and human communities on a planetary level. People—ultimately *other* people—become the enemy, so Foreman's comments on closing borders (what only very right-wing or left-wing dictatorships do) and letting people starve who are the victims of capitalist civil wars become "acceptable" suggestions.

Few inside EF! may take his weirdness seriously, especially when he does so many other exemplary things, but in the general culture his legitimations of the U.S. nation state and "defense" of "our resources" and borders will elicit unexpected and dangerous responses. He should think about that.

Fascism is a difficult question, but Murray Bookchin's tirades and the superficial replies aside, as radicals we need to examine how earlier anti-industrial traditions, as in Germany, could be colonized and captured by fascism. The Nazis were able to colonize anticapitalist sentiments with a vague anti-business rhetoric that never developed a global critique of actual institutions and their role in oppression and exploitation (mainly because the capitalists were bankrolling them).

They also appealed to a longing for a return to nature in some of their propa-

ganda, excoriating the modern world as the "asphalt civilization," while avoiding the nature of the society that made the asphalt. The FE has discussed the character of this civilization for a number of years, showing the inadequacies of simplistic "anticapitalism" and how it leads to leftwing nazism or gulag leninism. But a lack of understanding of capital as a system of internal alienation and external domination, and of its actual operations around the globe, is just as dangerous as mindless leftism. That is why I undertook the deep ecology critique.

I emphasized the positive aspects of EF! and what the wider movement does, even the many positive things about deep ecology, with which I think I share a biocentric perspective, but positive things are done by leftists too, and that doesn't mean that we should withhold our differences. EF!ers and authoritarian leftists both participated in tearing up the train tracks after a munitions train ran over Brian Willson last spring, for example, but we should still express our criticisms of their perspectives while supporting their actions.

As for diversity, I believe EF! is diverse, but Foreman's argument that the malthusian view of the crisis is rooted in human numbers (a view I call starvationism), that it is a "litmus test" for the group, does not strike me as an expression of diversity. EF! women, in particular, should confront this ideology, because it is profoundly anti-woman. The resolution of the population growth crisis is rooted in the necessity for women's emancipation, their access to basic health, reproductive freedom and land.

There is a rich literature of feminist writing on this issue (including the recent *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs*, by Betsy Hartmann, which I reviewed in the last FE) that belies the *masculinist* myth of simple quantities as the underlying problem. This radical vision needs to be explored and represented to the EF! group. Telling people that they are a plague, "the AIDS of the Earth," as Paul

Watson recently had it in Toronto, is not only a mystification, but also contributes to entropy, since no one will be won to a radical ecological vision by the argument that they should just "die off."

As for the context of the ecological crisis, my point is that human civilization is causing the poisoning of the Earth and the present extinction spasm, and that the underlying causes are to be found in deep imbalances in the society of humans. As humans, we are destroying the rest of the planet, but that only begs the question. What about our civilization (I use the word "our" advisedly) is causing this? It cannot be found in ecological science, which does not analyze or critique relations of power or social-cultural-historical modes within human society.

Today, industrial capitalism has emerged as the culmination and deadliest mode of the social plague of domination, hierarchy and alienation. As Fredy Perlman's book aptly and poetically reveals, capital—as external domination and conquest, and internal authoritarian conditioning, as universal despiritization, commodification and mechanization—exists in its fundamental germ state with the original rupture in primal society and the emergence of the state (the "archy" that *anarchy* tries to resist and destroy).

Revolt, revolution and the creation of communities of such resistance have gone on since the beginning, since that break. It is a rich tradition and we are part of it. Deep ecology tends to ignore it, blaming undifferentiated humanity for the problem, seeing "humanism" as the cause. But "humanism" is only the secular religion of the modern bourgeoisie—the mask that covers the underlying relations of power that keep us all reproducing the planetary work pyramid, the Leviathan.

The only way out is to explode those deepest forms of alienation, to begin to see our place again in nature, but to allow no illusions about the concrete institutions of modern capital, East and West, today. We have learned much from the

Continued on Next Page; Col. 3



On April 27, eight of us from Detroit, including people from the Fifth Estate staff, traveled 200 miles north to Cadillac, Michigan to participate in the Earth First! initiated "Days of Outrage Against the U.S. Forest Service." The Forest Service has been selling off large chunks of wilderness areas and national forests to rapacious logging concerns which have destroyed millions of acres of trees. The USFS has opened areas to logging by an extensive road building program which destroys habitat and wildlife and plans an additional 50,000 miles if they are not stopped. The EF! action brought out people in 40 locations around the country including ours at the headquarters of the Manistee/Huron National Forests. EF! has an important brochure detailing the danger posed by the Forest Service; contact Earth First!, P.O. Box 5871, Tucson AZ 85703. A dollar for postage would be appreciated.



# Edward Abbey: We Rest Our Case

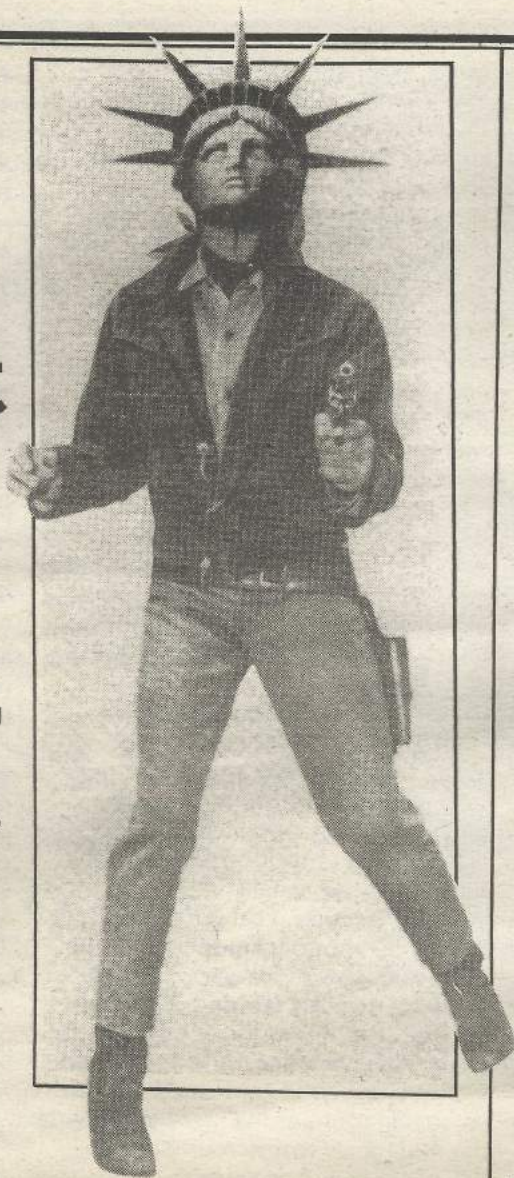
Edward Abbey, author of the fictional eco-sabotage novel, *The Monkeywrench Gang*, and numerous other volumes on the Southwestern deserts and wilderness is both the *eminence grise* and *bete noire* of Earth First! Abbey is highly revered by the EF! leadership and many of its supporters for his eloquence in expressing a sense of things wild, but also for his misanthropic irreverence towards "humanistic" values.

Although there have always been troublesome aspects to his writing (even though declaring himself an anarchist), Abbey has recently emerged within the context of the debate over deep ecology as the Ezra Pound of the environmental movement. (Pound, one of the most influential poets of the first half of the 20th century, embraced fascism in his declining years, going so far as to make broadcasts from Italy praising Mussolini during WW II.)

We have noted in the last two issues of this paper that Abbey willingly admits to being what he describes as a "national chauvinist," but increasingly he has slipped into a full-blown racist, xenophobia where immigrants, particularly from Latin America, arise in his view as the root of all "our" country's problems. If this seems like a harsh assessment, perhaps a few quotes from his latest collection of essays, *One Life at a Time, Please*, offered with glowing praise by the EF! newspaper, should suffice.

In a short piece entitled, "Immigration and Liberal Taboos," where he bemoans the fact that it is now unacceptable to call Mexicans "wetbacks," he finally concludes that "it might be wise for us as American citizens to consider calling a halt to the mass influx of even more millions of hungry, ignorant, unskilled, and culturally-morally-genetically impoverished people." When you hear the phrase "genetically impoverished" uttered in describing people, is it really inappropriate to haul out the charge of "fascist" or even "nazi"? What other political philosophy delves into biology as the basis for an asserted hierarchy of ethnic or racial quality?

In order to stop the importation of what Abbey refers to in his essay as the immigrants' "alien mode of life," this "anarchist" offers a solution to what he describes as "a simple technical-military problem." How solved? He states, "We've got an army somewhere on this planet; let's bring our soldiers home and station them where they can be of some actual and immediate benefit to the taxpayers who support them." In other words, guard our borders along with the wealth this nation loots from the rest of the world against the tiny fraction of the empire's victims who try to reach the center of the apparatus which has de-



stroyed their culture. Racist? His desire to stop the brown hordes from entering "our" (remember the Native Americans?) shores sounds no different than the calls from the eugenicists and racialists of the 1920s who inveighed against the wave of Eastern and Central European immigration.

We probably should rest our case against this bitter and pathetic character who has retreated into the dark corners of patriotism and race hatred, but he keeps letting out gems that cannot be ignored.

In the Nov./Dec. 1987 *Utne Reader*, in a debate with social ecologist Murray Bookchin, Abbey refers to Bookchin as a "fat, old woman" and then flippantly admits to being a "male, sexist pig" as if the description carries with it no negative condemnation. Is Abbey so callous that he doesn't care what sort of insult and hurt such a remark might carry for the millions of portly and elderly women who no longer fit the image of a Playboy centerspread?

For whatever value Abbey's ideas may have had in the past, his current utterances are so reprehensible as to make us want to ask Dave Foreman (now head of the EF! book department after resigning as the paper's editor) why Earth First! continues to sell and promote books such as the one quoted from above? Maybe it's that they agree with him, huh?

—E.B. Maple

**FE Note:** If any reader is interested in seeing Abbey's essay, "Immigration and Liberal Taboos," we can furnish a copy.

—graphics on deep ecology/Earth First! pages from: *ProvocAzione*, Casella Postale 61, 95100 Catania ITALY

More of the debate on deep ecology appears in *Kick It Over*, Box 5811, Stn. A, Toronto Ont. Canada M5W 1P2, issue 20, \$2; and from *Green Perspectives*, Box 111, Burlington VT 05402.



—graphic: Akwesasne Notes:  
Box 196, Roosevelt NY 13683

## More on EF! & Deep Ecology

Continued from Page 11

same literature from which deep ecology draws its strengths, but deep ecology could learn at least as much from us, from the history of radical anticapitalism, anarchism and libertarian communism, and the communalist revolts of the past.

In the June 1988 issue of EF!, Dave Foreman argues that EF! is the "avant garde" (read: vanguard) of radical environmentalism and the writers (like him and Miss Ann Thropy) of the journal are the avant garde of the avant garde. I prefer to see current emerging anti-industrial movements as part of a reality that is kaleidoscopic. EF! has a piece of the truth, but they need to listen to their critics (even ones like Murray) and examine their assumptions, or that truth will crystallize into ideology and manipulation, and end up being something different than what they intend and what we all desire.

### Dim Realization

Sir,

I wish to respond specifically to some of the claims made by E. B. Maple in the Spring 1988 issue of FE. Maple repeatedly refers to the "male centrality" which purportedly dominates EF!. This shows a real lack of knowledge of EF! and its adherents. Maple seems to be relying on the image of EF! portrayed by popular media: rough-and-ready, beer-swilling redneck ecoterrorists. While this may apply to some members, EF! cannot be so easily stereotyped, and anyone writing for an underground publication like FE should know better than to rely on popular media for accurate portrayals of facts.

If EF! is really male dominated, you'd better tell all the EF! women! In late March an EF! women's rendezvous was held in the California desert. It was attended by some of the real leaders of the movement; strong-minded, highly intelligent women who I doubt would allow themselves to be sucked into a male-dominated group.

One of the things which attracted me to EF! is the movement's encouragement of feminine traits in both men and women. I'm not talking about wearing makeup or putting on skirts. I'm talking about creativity, openness, free display of emotion, nonviolence, and empathy for other life forms. EF! does not qualify for the attributes of "violence and male rage," as Maple claims.

Maple does display a dim realization of what EF! actually is and does. I quote from his/her article: "Earth First! constantly and quite accurately, berates the U.S. Forest Service," and, "their willingness to militantly defend wilderness through direct action and sabotage is admirable and sometimes effective." Hey!

This is Earth First! How about a little more credit for those qualities? As Maple says, "The ultimate direction of the movement will depend greatly upon the rank and file of Earth First!." Local groups are becoming more and more autonomous and effective on their own turf. We come together not to goosestep to some "right-wing caudillo," but to defend the Wilderness.

**Randall Restless**  
**Wild Rockies Earth First!**  
**P.O. Box 6151**  
**Bozeman MT 59715**

**FE Note:** Randall Restless was arrested May 27 at an Earth First! demonstration protecting grizzly bear habitat in Yellowstone National Park. Restless was wearing a bear suit and chained himself to a Park sign. Protect the griz; free Randall! He wants to be contacted at the above address for further campaigns.

Also: This is not meant as a low blow to diminish the points you make in your letter, but you probably would have gotten farther in your refutation of EF!'s male centrality if you had not addressed our gender-mixed staff as "Sir." The woman who opened your letter immediately circled your greeting and your remarks on women in EF!.

### Sacred World View

Amigos,

Ed Abbey's opinions on immigration or Foreman's attitude are no more representative of Earth First! than Oregon EF!'s prayer circles or my controversial poetry performances. It is proof of our anarchistic tribalism that such diversity exists under one priority: the Earth, "in toto," comes first! Ahead of our short-term material/political concerns.

Deep Ecology is an academic term for the sacred world view shared in common by all races in their ancestral past, a recognition of the sacred (intrinsic, equal) value in all things, not their value to one species anointed as "caretakers" of the Earth by the Judeo-Christian power structure. Deep Ecology denounces the patriarchal domination of ourselves, women, children, and other species who also have a right to live out their species destiny unfettered.

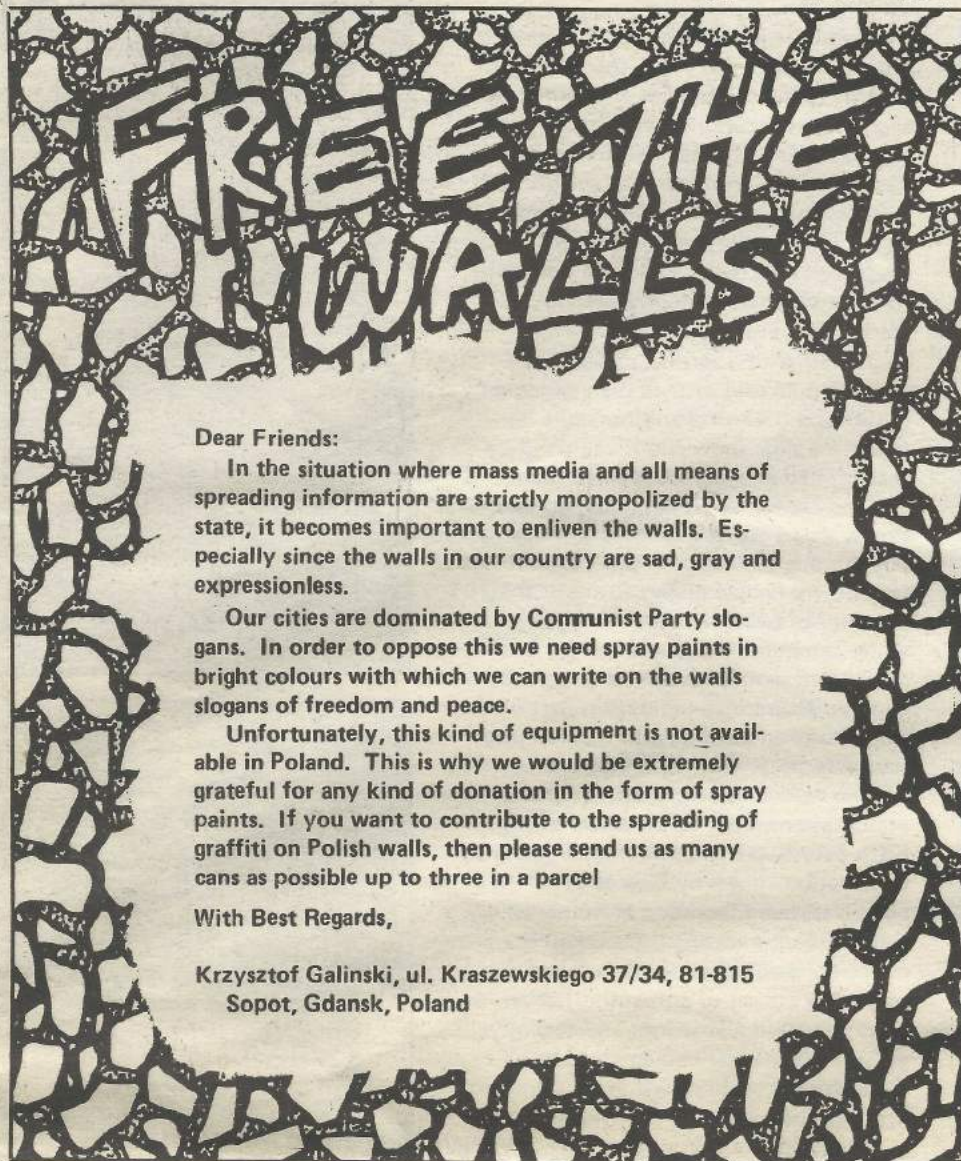
Let's not take ourselves too seriously. Revolution with a smile, Ghost Dancers at Armageddon, jammin'....

It's not our generation's job to build more barriers, or dress up the old ones with intellectual irrelevancy. It is our job to tear the fucking walls down!

Insist on the dream!

**Lone Wolf Circles**  
**Box 652**  
**Reserve, NM 87830**





Dear Friends:

In the situation where mass media and all means of spreading information are strictly monopolized by the state, it becomes important to enliven the walls. Especially since the walls in our country are sad, gray and expressionless.

Our cities are dominated by Communist Party slogans. In order to oppose this we need spray paints in bright colours with which we can write on the walls slogans of freedom and peace.

Unfortunately, this kind of equipment is not available in Poland. This is why we would be extremely grateful for any kind of donation in the form of spray paints. If you want to contribute to the spreading of graffiti on Polish walls, then please send us as many cans as possible up to three in a parcel

With Best Regards,

Krzysztof Galinski, ul. Kraszewskiego 37/34, 81-815 Sopot, Gdansk, Poland

## Anarchism in Eastern Europe LETTERS FROM POLAND

*FE Note: The following letter comes to us from Bob McGlynn of On Gogol Boulevard, a bulletin of Soviet and Eastern Bloc opposition to the official regimes. OGB is available from 151 1st Ave., No. 62, NY NY 10003 and attempts to link individuals and groups in the West with the existing and emerging trends in the East for mutually supportive actions.*

McGlynn wrote us June 24: "We are unsure of the date of this letter, but it's from the last year. We are also unsure whether RSA still exists or whether they all joined the anti-war and ecology group, 'Freedom and Peace,' particularly the Gdansk chapter."

### Greetings from Poland!

We are writing this letter as Polish anarchists—participants in Ruch Społeczstwa Alternatywnego (RSA)—Movement of Alternative Society. We have been working in organized form since June 1983; since September 1983, we've been publishing our own magazine—illegal, of course, just like the whole movement.

Our anarchism comes not from the lecture of classics, but from analysis of present situation in Poland. Everything in our country belongs to the State—means of production, communication and repression are monopolized by one party (communist) government. The only exception to this rule are agriculture (70% private)

and Catholic church with its own organization and press.

Totalitarian rule gives birth to totalitarian opposition—fanatically anti-communist (that's why it is so admiring of capitalism and Western world), nationalistic, dependent on church, intolerant of people and ideas, and, just like government, it uses censorship and calls these that do not agree with its ideas, "non-patriotic." The only thing that differs there is lack of political police by opposition.

But there are worse things. The main problem of opposition is its stagnation and paralyzing of street demonstrations, so disliked by Lech Walesa and Church. Organizers of such demonstrations are condemned by them as provocateurs and police agents. Both Church and opposition prefer to wait for a good will of government or pressure from countries, while being content with a role of mediator between government and society. (Most of all, Catholic church never prospered as good as after the 1981 declaration of martial law.)

Fortunately, there is a change lately, as more people (Solidarity activists included) are turning their backs to Church and opposition leaders. There is no acceptance for passive opposition while conditions of living are worsening drastically.

This is a chance for radical groups that do not want to exchange socialism for



capitalism, but desire to negate the system as a whole. This direction is popular mainly among young people, especially counter-culture youth, who do not want to go to the army (mandatory in our country), breathe poisoned air or learn and work in places that look like prisons.

Our movement is among them. We think that it is more important to build alternative society right now than wait until communists give up power. Creation of alternative society seems easiest in culture since it doesn't need much of material means and may well exist in underground.

However, it is hard to break old scheme of Pole who is Catholic, fights for Polish police, Polish factory owner and Catholic mass on the radio instead of communist agit-prop. It is easily seen in so called "independent culture" where artists opposed to government are doing same things as ever, but this time for different sponsor. Our movement is supporting all creative efforts that are independent from government, church and opposition.

We support literature, graphic arts, theatre, cabaret, happenings and amateur films. Exchange of ideas and independent information is also achieved by magazines, fliers, posters, murals and, most of all, by open debate clubs. All this helps in development of consciousness, in search for one's own way of life. We try to show that people divided by particular idea may unite in mutual interest and reach common goals—freedom, peace and justice.

tice.

To achieve these goals we are ready to cooperate with anyone (regardless of his opinions and ideas) who will recognize our right to be different and to live the way we want to live. There are examples of such cooperation with other groups, consisting mainly of young people: anti-government street demonstrations. Three of the biggest were on May 1, 1985 against price raises, Oct. 13, 1985 against mock elections to Sejm and June 12, 1987 during Pope's visit to Gdansk.

Finally, there is basic goal for today: to integrate people from counterculture with these from political opposition. Mutual distrust of artists for "dirty politicians" and the oppositions for "madmen and nihilists" narrows possibilities of our action.

That's about us. We would like to know what's happening in your country. We would like to get wider scope on problems of your society. Also, we would appreciate your help in making contacts with other anarchist groups in States and other countries.

RSA  
Gdansk, Poland

*Fifth Estate note:* Please write letters as private persons writing to private persons or the letters will be checked by the Polish police.

The Gdansk chapter of the anti-war, ecology group, Freedom and Peace, by writing Krzysztof Galinski, ul. Kraszewskiego 37/34, 81-815 Sopot, Gdansk, Poland.

## 9 Months for Israeli Graffiti

Adam Keller, editor of *The Other Israel* (newsletter of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace) was arrested April 15 while on reserve duty in Israel. According to the May-June issue of the newsletter, he is accused of painting slogans opposing military service in the occupied territories on 117 military vehicles (tanks, armoured personnel carriers, and trucks) and of posting "Stop the Occupation" stickers and distributing leaflets in the military base. On May 11 Keller was found guilty of "insubordination and of publication and distribution of written propaganda liable to undermine army discipline." He was sentenced to 9 months imprisonment, fined, and demoted from

corporal to private.

The interim editor of *The Other Israel* contrasts Keller's sentence with the much lighter sentences given to the few Israeli soldiers brought to trial for beating and torturing Palestinians. The soldiers found guilty of attempting to bury alive four Palestinians in a village in the occupied territories were given four to five month sentences which were quickly appealed and reduced to two to two and a half months.

For more information, contact: The Other Israel, PO box 956, Tel Aviv, 61008 Israel, or: The America-Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace (AICIPP), 4816 Cornell Ave., Downers Grove, IL 60515.



# The 1988 Gathering Anarchy in Toronto

Congas, bongos, tambourines, and quickly improvised percussion instruments—swirls of colorful clothing and hair, banners, trees, sky and flowers—animated discussions, joyous reunions and laughter, children splashing in the pool and riding "horseback" on an adult—people inside crowding literature tables and workshops. A gathering of the tribes!

The Anarchist Survival Gathering, Toronto, July 1-4, 1988 brought an estimated 800-1000 people, about 1/2 each from Canada and the U.S. as well as a few from Australia, France, New Zealand, The Netherlands, and England. People in their early 20's predominated but all ages were represented including veterans of the North American Italian Anarchist Movement and the Spanish Revolution as well as about 100 middle-aged. Participants were overwhelmingly white, with some Native Americans attending, and a handful of blacks. There were "punks" and "hippies," men in dresses, and straight-looking folks—no yuppies in evidence.

The first day began as people struggled in for a General Meeting scheduled for 9 a.m. Discussion centered on requests referred to the meeting: a member of a Bolshevik Tendency (BLT) to set up a literature table and of a city TV news reporter to attend the General Meeting. Following several unfavorable comments the BLT's request was rejected. The reporter stated he only had 10 minutes to spend so we discussed his request for 10 minutes until he left.

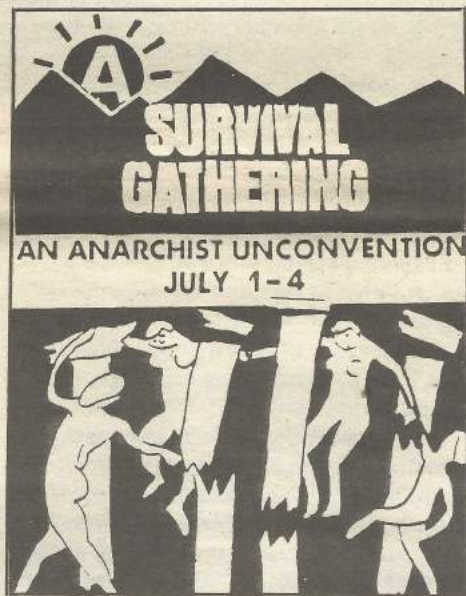
The Gathering organizers informed us of the media hysteria in Toronto that had preceded the Gathering. A *Toronto Star* headline shouted "Officials Fear Anarchists' Idea of a Good Time." These sentiments had been fueled by creative and exciting actions surrounding the economic summit two weeks before. Also a local garbage rag, *The Sun*, printed three articles featuring major disinformation and lies reporting an expected 15,000 anarchists including "white supremacists and neo-Nazis." *Ecomedia*, Toronto's anarchist bi-weekly, reported "it was mainly U.S. police intelligence (sic) sources who are spreading the lies ...and want to create a situation which would pressure Canadian police not to be 'outdone' by the Yankees, into responding to this 'threat'."

We were surprised that very few of us had experienced any hassles at border crossings. Unfortunately, they began in Toronto the first day when several U.S. citizens were arrested and held for the weekend by immigration authorities for entering the country under false pretenses. We were alerted at the meeting to park cars with foreign plates away from the gathering and walk or take public transportation.

The Friday morning meeting was fol-

lowed by workshops scheduled from noon to 5:30 and from 9:30 to 5 on Saturday. 63 were listed and categorized as presentation, discussion group, affinity group and skills with spaces available for spontaneous workshops. Following the weekend opinions on the workshops varied but most agreed it was difficult to choose between 9 workshops scheduled simultaneously, and that the hour and a half time slots were not long enough. Many workshops attracted 50 to 100 people making real exchange difficult.

There was much disagreement as to the value of each workshop based on different expectations, needs, and experiences of the participants. Adjectives and phrases expressed included inspiring, redundant,



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thought-provoking, lacking intellectual challenge, extremely valuable, learned a lot. Some folks felt a need for more formal and thorough presentations on specific topics such as the historical background of anarchism. Some said skills workshops offered valuable information while others wanted more direct experience.

For one young man the Youth Liberation workshop was the "best workshop of the day". 100-200 mostly young people discussed "how we were raised, how we would end up raising children, what it means to be an anti-authoritarian parent, children are not our possessions, runa-

ways and the need to set up an 'underground railroad' for them, the trend of parents to institutionalize children at the slightest provocation, ageism at the Saturday night bar benefits, high school activities, alienation from parents, society, and schools, and the need to be respected as equals in the movement." The workshop continued long past its allotted time with folks exceedingly high on a feeling of solidarity with everyone there.

The Squatting workshop was really good. People told of their own experiences around the world and someone brought a slide show about a large squat that offered art, including performance art, and classes to the community. Most squats lasted about 2 months to a year but this one had lasted 4 years until it was torn down. People disagreed about the desirability of being isolated in a squat or doing community-oriented things. One participant would have liked to actually go to an abandoned building as part of the workshop and learn how to turn on utilities.

Two workshops were convened and presentations given by members of the Fifth Estate staff: "Empire and Ecological Destruction" given by George Bradford and "National Liberation Movements" by E.B. Maple. Following the session, Bradford expressed a feeling that what once was a tiny corner of anti-authoritarian theory—anti-industrialism, anti-technology, pro-primitivist—had emerged to a wider appreciation in recent years. Only a little was heard from those who fail to realize that technology is inherently a system of domination and continue to claim it is neutral, that spears and missiles are the same, and the like.

Maple's workshop, where he contended that national liberation movements have nothing in common with the concept of anarcho-communism, met with surprising resistance. His statements that each of the prominent "liberation" movements such as the Sandinistas, the ANC and the Salvadoran FMLN-FDR seek only to establish political states, their own cops and a capitalist economy was met with cries of "we have to support the people's struggles" as if it was a leftist convention and not an anarchist gathering.

Maple stated that there is a capitalist civil war raging in Central America to determine what sector of capital—left, right, or center—will develop market relations in the region. Quoting Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's recent remarks that it was impossible to "abolish private property at this time" and that the country's economy was "free market" seemed to do nothing to convince those who would forget their anarchist principles and blindly support armed leftist politicians.

Maple said that the proper role of an anti-statist and anti-capitalist movement should not be as a rooting section for those who would set up the next tyranny but their critics. The interests of those people being directly oppressed by the U.S. would be best served here in the metropole by subverting the ability of the empire to wage war on small countries through the encouragement of mutinies in the armed forces and taking part on a critical basis in the anti-intervention movement.

Many of the pro-national liberation struggle comments in the workshop showed a basic lack of understanding of how capital moves across the planet. One



Top: Sunday in the park spontaneous music and d

Middle: We were treated to a variety of performar acoustic and electric music, and theater.

Bottom: It is interesting to note that although the tors they did have some finely tuned methods of d bed by an officer was quickly isolated as mounted outward while police on foot reinforced the widen





ancing were continuous.

ces, including poetry, improvisational jazz,

police were not in control of the demonstra-  
tating with them. A protestor grab-  
police surrounded them pushing the crowd  
ng circle.

Photos by Rebecca Cook

militant from Minneapolis actually made the remark that "having a Nicaraguan boss was an improvement" and that if the percentage of exploitation was reduced, he supported it. If the anarchist movement has retreated to the point where one supports a leftist political movement because it wants to be the boss in a Coca-Cola factory, we are in serious trouble. In many ways, this shallow understanding of the world economy comes from the anarchist fixation on the state which often ignores how capital functions.

Still, the interchange was encouraging and while many continued an expression of the leftism they came in with, hopefully their ideas were challenged and they will also consider ours.

Three women who attended the women's health workshop all found it extremely valuable with a demonstration followed by a practical experience in vaginal self-examination, as well as information on birth control and self-insemination.

Several folks found the Subversive Art workshop uninspiring and left it early while others described it as the best workshop they had attended with lots of practical ideas for graffiti and vandalism. For one young woman it was her first encounter with exciting anarchist activism and not the "passive armchair" anarchists she was used to.

The Survival workshop was very diverse in terms of age and background of the participants and focused on personal survival outside the economic structure in anarchist communities. Topics included gardening, dumpster-diving and jobs that don't require college degrees.

A healthy spirit of taking art into the streets and making it part of our lives, tearing down barriers between actors and audience permeated the exciting Street Theater workshop.

Much debate occurred around what were seen by some as being exclusionary workshops i.e., one organized as a Wimmin's Only discussion and the spontaneous one for middle-aged anarchists. However, some issues were identified in those workshops that had not been addressed previously, issues that are not exclusive to the groups that identified them. Most of us are unaware or forget about issues not directly affecting us. For example we tend not to insure access for disabled anarchists at our meetings and events, or for anarchists below drinking age at musical events.

Issues identified at the middle-aged anarchist workshop included: 1.) How do we develop so that older anarchists value the excitement and fresh perspectives of younger anarchists, and younger anarchists value the history and experience of older anarchists? 2.) How do we maintain our enthusiasm and participation in the movement as family responsibilities take more time and energy and physical aches and pains develop? 3.) Entertainment planned for gatherings should be more varied than bands at the bar.

4.) How can our anarchist communities stop "warehousing" our grandparents, parents, and ourselves when we are older? (Notice the similarities to the Youth Liberation discussion.)

The Wimmin's Only workshop did not identify issues as clearly. Discussion centered on wimmin in the sex industry and prostitution in particular. Although no one voiced disagreement with the state-

ment that prostitution, waitressing and typing are equally exploitative jobs, it occurred to me later that we would never have spent 1½ hours discussing waitressing. Perhaps the discussion needs to come out of a much smaller affinity group—prostitutes and women in the sex industry. Their unique perspective may help to identify issues of sexuality, "morality", and oppression that we need to address. Sexuality and/or sexism were recurring themes in many workshops.

During the Anarchism and Native People workshop an elder of the Oneidas recited the history of his tribe. Taking pride in their adherence to all treaties made with the Great White Fathers, the emphasis of this 20 minute narrative seemed to be the greatness of his tribe over all others. I was surprised that he seemed unaware of who he was speaking to, but even more amazed that the entire group of approximately 50 people listened respectfully.

I kept thinking about the discussion in the middle-aged workshop when someone had suggested looking to native american cultures as models for a community that values its elders. I was also remembering hearing about a presentation on the Spanish Revolution at the Chicago 1986 gathering given by a veteran of that war in which he was rudely interrupted several times until finally the discussion became centered instead on Nicaragua.

Was it the almost regal bearing and carefully phrased slow speech of the Oneida that held the respectful attention of anarchists who would have shouted down another with the same message? Was it a mystique of the native american elder?

**"We can't pen them in. This is like Europe. Usually they go limp, we pick them up and take them away. This is definitely new—running in the streets." Toronto police sergeant**

There needs to be a middle ground, a way to respect and value the knowledge and experiences of the elders of our community, but at the same time to be able to voice disagreements and disapproval if their message is way off base.

In any event the rest of the workshop included valuable discussion precipitated by accounts given by several other native people about recent struggles and some successes. Comment was also made that while other political and ecology groups often tried to push their own agenda for the land, anarchists were the only ones to consistently support the tribes' decisions.

Saturday night 8 hard core bands at the Silver Dollar Bar attracting mostly the punk crowd featured MDC from San Francisco who because of immigration concerns had to appear as "My Dog Charlie". Both with the high energy and the heat of the night, it rapidly became the "Sweat Lodge of Slam" in the words of one frenzied participant.

Several blocks away a slightly older but

no less enthusiastic crowd pushed into the sweltering Siboney Bar to hear 3 other bands. Imagine, a two-tone reggae band from Toronto, was received so enthusiastically that the lead singer exclaimed "This is the best night of my life. It made every other awful bar gig worth it to be here."

They played a driving brand of reggae with words about peace, equal rights, ecology and animal rights which had the crowd dancing in joyful abandon and ready for the Layabouts. The heat and camaraderie encouraged people of both sexes to discard their shirts as the Layabouts from Detroit brought the house down in what may have been their last appearance.

Sunday was labeled "Day of Networking" in the guide to the gathering and included discussions on Network organization and process, affinity group discussions, and evaluation of this year's gathering with suggestions for next year's. Spontaneous music and dancing were continuous until 4 p.m. when we were treated to a variety of performances, including poetry, improvisational jazz, acoustic and electric music, and theater.

Discussion of the Day of Action scheduled for the following day went on for hours. The news that the U.S. had shot down an Iranian Airliner with 290 people aboard changed the focus of the demonstrations, and after long debate it was decided to march to the U.S. Consulate at noon. Toronto's Alliance for Non-violent Action also announced a demonstration including civil disobedience to begin earlier in the day.

On Monday at 7:30 a.m. about 50 people, many dressed in black and carrying lillies, accompanied a black coffin to the U.S. Consulate which was barricaded so completely by Toronto police that the action had to take place in front of a private club next door. 8 people entered the crosswalk on one of Toronto's busiest streets and layed down blocking all traffic. Police were brutal in their arrest procedures, contrary to the gentle image many people from the U.S. had of Canadian police. As one woman continued crying out in pain she and the arresting officer were surrounded by mounted police to prevent supporters from obtaining his badge number.

Around noon people from the Gathering began marching to the U.S. consulate chanting "Who's the real terrorist?—U.S.A.", "We don't want your fucking war! We don't want your fucking state! This time we retaliate!" Folks were herded like cattle through chutes past the consulate. Exiting the chutes at the far end the crowd crossed the Avenue onto the median, some climbing a monument to Canadians killed in the Boer War where a Canadian and a U.S. flag were burned amid cheers, and an anarchist set the black flag on fire screaming "We don't need symbols!"

The crowd then ran through a construction site behind the city hall and onto a street crowded with shoppers, tourists, and employees on their lunch breaks shouting the same slogans, as well as "Eat the Rich; feed the poor!", pounding on newsstands, ululating, and tearing down Canadian and U.S. flags on a cenotaph. Strangely, women who removed their shirts in protest of nudity laws were largely ignored by police, photographers, and bystanders although 2 were eventually

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# The 1988 Gathering Toronto

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arrested.

Neither demonstrators nor police were sure where the crowd was going. A sergeant is quoted in the *Toronto Sun* as saying "We can't pen them in. This is like Europe. Usually they go limp, we pick them up and take them away. This is definitely new—running in the streets."

A woman watching the activity was heard to say, "This is like the 60's. Someone should tell them the revolution is over." Mounted police and police on foot picked off individuals in various skirmishes along the way, beating them with clubs, tearing hair, twisting arms and trampling some with horses.

When police tried to haul protestors to the ground other protestors pounced on them and tried to "unarrest" them, and more police joined in the fray.

One protestor reportedly bashed a cop with a flag pole and another cop was attacked with mustard. A roar went up from the crowd in front of Eaton Center as an officer's hat went sailing through the air. Three cops were sent to the hospital—one's ear was bitten, another was hit in the head with a stick and another chipped a tooth.

The crowd headed back to the park followed by police, reporters and photographers. Demonstrators skirmished with reporters and photographers as they tried to prevent them from recording a spontaneous meeting to determine what to do next. The crowd thinned as people became frustrated, tired and hungry.

31 people had been arrested. All were released the next day but 14 U.S. citizens and one West German were immediately arrested again and held another night in jail for violation of immigration laws.

They were then arraigned and released with the admonishment that they be out of the country, reporting at the place of exit, by midnight. They are supposed to return for a hearing in several weeks.

Following the demonstration Toronto Alderman Tony O'Donohue was quoted as saying, "I say we load the whole lot of them into a truck, take them to the border and kick their asses across."

"Those bastards—this kind of stuff cannot be tolerated," said Alderman Chris Korwin-Kuczynski, "We should have a

heavy hand dealing with them and they should be taught a lesson. A big fine or 30 days in jail. Slapping them on the wrist and letting them go doesn't do anything."

Participants responded to the Day of Action with elation but also with fear, anger and disappointment. It was frightening to be herded like cattle past the Consulate and, later, to feel incapable of stopping attacks on other demonstrators. Most people, myself included, followed demonstrators ahead of them with no idea as to where they were headed or why.

The lack of organization, an agreed-upon route and definite targets after leaving the Consulate resulted in the anger and disappointment as well as the elation. It was exciting and to an extent empowering to know that police were not in control. But neither were we.

In the guide to the gathering organizers wrote, "Everything is possible! Diverse forms of actions are enthusiastically envisioned. Affinity groups help to make this happen." Not many of us took this to heart.

We are still letting others make plans and decisions for us rather than taking on the responsibility ourselves. My affinity group never discussed the demo more than to suggest to each other that we try to stick together, and I'm sure other affinity groups had no more specific plans.

Granted, a public spot, such as the park, is not a good place for 800 people to discuss real actions that show our determination to oppose laws and institutions that repress and oppress us. But affinity groups had ample time and place to use the maps and other information provided in the guide to discuss what they would do.

In his article about the gathering in *Anarchnotes 4*, Mike Gunderloy says he left Toronto early Monday "so as not to have any chance of being caught up in the consequences of the planned action."

Echoing the sentiments of others he writes, "After the events of the last three years, how can anyone still think that demonstrations in connection with the gathering are a good idea? Attacking armed cops in a strange city in the company of people you don't know, after a planning session held in the presence of police and



A procedure used often by the police was to find a pressure point just behind the protestor's ear and press hard for several minutes. It is an extremely effective method of inflicting great pain without bruising. Photos/Rebecca Cook

reporters, is not revolutionary. It's just plain stupid. There are enough crazies hanging around these gatherings to make it completely impossible to hold a non-violent action, so any action is going to turn into a violent confrontation, getting people hurt and arrested, and draining the resources of our network. The militant ringleaders strike me as completely irresponsible, especially for suckering in relatively innocent people who weren't sure that things would turn ugly."

Reactions of people from the FE and others from Detroit were not as severe, perhaps because we suffered no casualties. We would like to hear from others on this subject.

Energizing, exciting, inspiring! Those are words many folks used to describe their overall reaction to the gathering. To those coming to a gathering for the first time, seeing and meeting so many people working for change and living "outside the system" was immensely encouraging. For everyone, coming together to share ideas and experiences that seem to set us apart from people we meet in our everyday lives was stimulating and intoxicating and finding so many and such a mixture of people in solidarity was empowering.

Hooray for us!!

Many folks who had attended the gathering last year were pleased that the majority of people in attendance this year seemed to have given very careful thought to the issues and topics discussed.

Thanks, ovations, drum rolls, howls, and ululations are due for the people in Toronto who worked hard to make this gathering. The space was great! Two buildings, 1½ blocks apart with classrooms, auditoriums, snack bar, lots of toilets and that wonderful yard and fountain surrounded by a park! Providing inexpensive/free, good and healthy food allowed more time for playing, lazying, continuing discussions together and for more people on tight budgets to participate. Thanks for finding so much free housing and Alexandra Park for Sunday.

For other accounts see *Ecomedia Bulletin*, P.O. Box 915, Stn. F, Toronto, Ont., M4Y 2N9 and *Anarchnotes 4* c/o Mike Gunderloy, 6 Arizona Ave., Rensselaer, NY 12144.

The next Gathering is scheduled for late July 1989 in San Francisco. There will be a planning meeting in mid-October of this year held in Philadelphia; more as we get the details.



Toronto cop leads away bloodied demonstrator. Does anyone know what's in his mouth?

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## INTRODUCTION

Almost all John Zerzan essays feature accompanying introductions in which the word most frequently used to describe his method and conclusions is "provocative," (see, for instance, *Anarchy*, Summer 1987). Some may think this only an ugly little term meant to distance a publication from the wild assertions that John so often makes in his writings ("wild," by the way, is a word which I know he will not take as a perjorative). Realistically though, provocative accurately describes what is the common reaction to reading a Zerzan article—you are provoked, to anger or to thought.

Anger because he states everything with such a sense of certitude even when it does not seem entirely plausible to do so, i.e., liberation is impossible without the dissolution of agriculture, language is the original separation, etc. Indeed, a web of these certainties have come to form a chinese puzzle foundation for his view of alienation and domination leaving his partisans and detractors arguing about how well it all hangs together. John sees the human collapse from our original paradisaical state beginning when language, time, number and art entered human consciousness which then formed the basis of agriculture, itself the institutionalization of those earlier forms of separation.

But John provokes anger also because he steps on toes—he says you can't hide from the leviathan of civilization with the expressiveness of words or the exquisiteness of art, for they are part of the body of leviathan.

However, whether one agrees with his assertions or not, John also provokes his readers to think; witness the substantive replies which have appeared in these pages alongside his previous essays (see *FES*, Summer 1983, "Time, The First Lie of Social Life;" Fall 1983, "Responses on Time;" Winter 1984, "Language—Origin and Meaning;" Summer 1985, "Number—Its Origin and Evolution;" and Fall 1986, "The Case Against Art" available from us at 75¢ each). He means to examine *everything*, but only on

his terms—a sometimes maddening methodology of formulaic speculation and eclecticism; one that almost forces those who resist his conclusions to begin their own work on the subject under question.

John will allow nothing of this world to be taken for granted nor to be part of a new one, producing a revolutionary nihilism which many find hard to swallow. His vision of a world in which language, art, time, number and agriculture have disappeared led one friend who read his manuscript to charge that "Zerzan wants to return to the womb." Maybe so, but it would be back to the womb of the planet in a distant epoch where perhaps an earlier species of humans communicated intuitively, gratification was instantaneous, and joy the character of existence—this before we bit into the apple of knowledge and began our descent into the "terror of history," as Frederick Turner puts it.

John's desire to shed the pain of modern consciousness and all of its institutions is understandable in a frightening and miserable world, but his approach in writing has led some to question whether it is critical theory they are confronting or sheer, unrealizable utopianism and psychic escapism. I am not sure whether such a distinction has to be made at a point where all we have to sustain ourselves is the stuff of our dreams. The value of John's ongoing investigations is contained within his intransigent insistence that nothing be free of critical examination, even if it is of those qualities that some would contend make us human (we should remember that marxists insist that it is *work* which separates us from the animals). His fear that our desires will be corralled into a blind canyon by what society dictates as possible *at this time* is justifiable. When an authentic revolutionary movement is created, perhaps then it will begin to shape what a new world will look like, but at this point no speculation should be spurned.

In many ways, as he indicates, John is not telling a new story in his present essay. The era of the dawn of agriculture has always been seen by historians as the epochal watershed which produced the basis for

civilization. Points of departure come over the affirmation of the Neolithic Age by bourgeois and marxist theorists (who view it within their mystified social schema as a "progressive stage" of history) and those who see it as John does, as a *defeat* for humanity which left its nomadic and wild status for one of sedentary domination. This newspaper, as well, has long affirmed the validity of hunter-gatherer society as one in which humans were better able to act out a balanced relationship to nature and each other than in the state societies which have followed.

Still, even among those who share a common hatred for this society and the desire for a new one some take issue with many of John's conclusions and with some of his individual contentions; they will have their say in the next issue.

In the meantime, we should realize while reading this essay that all of the social sciences are highly ideologized with archeology perhaps being the foremost among them due to the scantiness and ambiguity of available evidence. For instance, the right-wing paleontologist Adrey could find a crushed skull and contend from that the confirmation of the Hobbsian dictum that life before the state was "nasty, brutish and short." However, his findings are also used contradictorily to support the notion that *modern* violence—particularly interstate violence—is an extension of an inherent human quality.

Similarly, the more liberal Leakeys discovered Paleolithic era burial sites and concluded that prehistory was based on cooperative and caring values with the implication that it has been the modern world which has twisted basic human traits, and the species retains the capacity to return to them. Our acceptance of one interpretation or another depends mostly on our view of contemporary society, which is why I like the Leakey story better than Adrey's. So, while reading what follows, perhaps think, what story do you *want* to be told, and maybe it will provoke you to act in terms of it.

—E. B. Maple



# AGRICULTURE ESSENCE OF CIVILIZATION

Agriculture, the indispensable basis of civilization, was originally encountered as time, language, number and art emerged. As the materialization of alienation, agriculture is the triumph of estrangement and the definite divide between culture and nature and humans from each other.

Agriculture is the birth of production, complete with its essential features and deformation of life and consciousness. The land itself becomes an instrument of production and the planet's species its objects. Wild or tame, weeds or crops speak of that duality that cripples the soul of our being, ushering in, relatively quickly, the despotism, war and impoverishment of high civilization over the great length of that earlier oneness with nature. The forced march of

civilization, which Adorno recognized in the "assumption of an irrational catastrophe at the beginning of history," which Freud felt as "something imposed on a resisting majority," of which Stanley Diamond found only "conscripts, not volunteers," was dictated by agriculture. And Mircea Eliade was correct to assess its coming as having "provoked upheavals and spiritual breakdowns" whose magnitude the modern mind cannot imagine.

"To level off, to standardize the human landscape, to efface its irregularities and banish its surprises," these words of E.M. Cioran apply perfectly to the logic of agriculture, the end of life as mainly sensuous activity, the embodiment and generator of separated life. Artificiality and work have steadily

increased since its inception and are known as culture: in domesticating animals and plants man necessarily domesticated himself.

Historical time, like agriculture, is not inherent in social reality but an imposition on it. The dimension of time or history is a function of repression, whose foundation is production or agriculture. Hunter-gatherer life was anti-time in its simultaneous and spontaneous openness; farming life generates a sense of time by its successive-task narrowness, its directed routine. As the non-closure and variety of Paleolithic living gave way to the literal enclosure of agriculture, time assumed power and came to take on the character of an enclosed space. Formalized temporal reference points—ceremonies with fixed dates, the naming of



days, etc.—are crucial to the ordering of the world of production; as a schedule of production, the calendar is integral in civilization. Conversely, not only would industrial society be impossible without time schedules, the end of agriculture (basis of all production) would be the end of historical time.

Representation begins with language, a means of reining in desire. By displacing autonomous images with verbal symbols, life is reduced and brought under strict control; all direct, unmediated experience is subsumed by that supreme mode of symbolic expression, language. Language cuts up and organizes reality, as Benjamin Whorf put it, and this segmentation of nature, an aspect of grammar, sets the stage for agriculture. Julian Jaynes, in fact, concluded that the new linguistic mentality led very directly to agriculture. Unquestionably, the crystallization of language into writing, called forth mainly by the need for record-keeping of agricultural transactions, is the signal that civilization has begun.

In the non-commodified, egalitarian hunter-gatherer ethos, the basis of which (as has so often been remarked) was sharing, number was not wanted. There was no ground for the urge to quantify, no reason to divide what was whole. Not until the domestication of animals and plants did this cultural concept fully emerge. Two of number's seminal figures testify clearly to its alliance with separateness and property: Pythagoras, center of a highly influential religious cult of number, and Euclid, father of mathematics and science, whose geometry originated to measure fields for reasons of ownership, taxation and slave labor. One of civilization's early forms, chiefdomship, entails a linear rank order in which each member is assigned an exact numerical place. Soon, following the anti-natural linearity of plow culture, the inflexible 90-degree gridiron plan of even earliest cities appeared. Their insistent regularity constitutes in itself a repressive ideology. Culture, now numberized, becomes more firmly bounded and lifeless.

Art, too, in its relationship to agriculture, highlights both institutions. It begins as a means to interpret and subdue reality, to rationalize nature, and conforms to the great turning point which is agriculture in its basic features. The pre-Neolithic cave paintings, for example, are vivid and bold, a dynamic exaltation of animal grace and freedom. The Neolithic art of farmers and pastoralists, however, stiffens into stylized forms; Franz Borkenau typified its pottery as a "narrow, timid botching of materials and forms." With agriculture, art lost its variety and became standardized into geometrical designs that tended to degenerate into dull, repetitive patterns, a perfect reflection of standardized, confined, rule-patterned life. And where there had been no representation in Paleolithic art of men killing men, an obsession with depicting confrontation between people advanced with the Neolithic period, scenes of battles becoming common.

#### *Agriculture Rests on Symbolization*

Time, language, number, art and all the rest of culture, which predates and leads to agriculture, rests on symbolization. Just as autonomy preceded domestication and self-domestication, the rational and the social precede the symbolic.

Food production, it is eternally and gratefully acknowledged, "permitted the cultural potentiality of the human species to develop." But what is this tendency toward the symbolic, toward the elaboration and imposition of arbitrary forms? It is a growing capacity for objectification, by which what is living becomes reified, thing-like. Symbols are more than the basic units of culture; they are screening devices to distance us from our experiences. They classify and reduce, "to do away with," in Leakey and Lewin's remarkable phrase, "the otherwise almost intolerable burden of relating one experience to another."



Thus culture is governed by the imperative of reforming and subordinating nature. The artificial environment which is agriculture accomplished this pivotal mediation, with the symbolism of objects manipulated in the construction of relations of dominance. For it is not only external nature that is subjugated: the face-to-face quality of pre-agricultural life itself severely limited domination, while culture extends and legitimates it.

It is likely that already during the Paleolithic era certain forms or names were attached to objects or ideas, in a symbolizing manner but in a shifting, impermanent, perhaps playful sense. The will to sameness and security found in agriculture means that symbols became as static and constant as farming life. Regularization, rule patterning, and technological differentiation, under the sign of division of labor, interact to ground and advance symbolization. Agriculture completes the symbolic shift and the virus of alienation has overcome authentic, free life. It is the victory of cultural control; as anthropologist Marshall Sahlins puts it, "The amount of work per capita increases with the evolution of culture and the amount of leisure per capita decreases."

Today, the few surviving hunter-gatherers occupy the least "economically interesting" areas of the world, where agriculture has not penetrated, such as the snows of the Inuit ("Eskimos") or desert of the Australian aborigines. And yet the refusal of farming drudgery, even in adverse settings, bears its own rewards. The Hazda of Tanzania, Filipino Tasaday, !Kung of Botswana, or the Kalahari Desert !Kung San ("Bushmen")—who were seen by Richard Lee as easily surviving a serious, several years' drought while neighboring farmers starved—also testify to Hole and Flannery's summary that "No group on earth has more leisure time than hunters and gatherers, who spend it primarily on games, conversation and relaxing." Service rightly attributed this condition to "the very simplicity of the technology and lack of control over the environment" of such groups. And yet simple Paleolithic methods were, in their own way, "advanced." Consider a basic cooking technique like steaming foods by heating stones in a covered pit; this is immemorably older than any pottery, kettles or baskets (in fact, is anti-container in its non-surplus, non-exchange orientation) and is the most nutritionally sound way



to cook, far healthier than boiling food in water, for example. Or consider the fashioning of such stone tools as the long and exceptionally thin "laurel leaf" knives, delicately chipped but strong, which modern industrial techniques cannot duplicate.

The hunting and gathering lifestyle represents the most successful and enduring adaptation ever achieved by humankind. In occasional pre-agriculture phenomena like the intensive collection of food or the systematic hunting of a single species can be seen signs of impending breakdown of a pleasurable mode that remained so static for so long precisely because it was pleasurable. The "penury and day-long grind" of agriculture, in Clark's words, is the vehicle of culture, "rational" only in its perpetual disequilibrium and its logical progression toward ever-greater destruction, as will be outlined below.

Although the term hunter-gatherer should be reversed (and has been by not a few current anthropologists) because it is recognized that gathering constitutes by far the larger survival component, the nature of hunting provides salient contrast to domestication. The relationship of the hunter to the hunted animal, which is sovereign, free and even considered equal, is obviously qualitatively different from that of the farmer or herdsman to the enslaved chattels over which he rules absolutely.

#### *Religion Emerges to Legitimize Culture*

Evidence of the urge to impose order or subjugate is found in the coercive rites and uncleanness taboos of incipient religion. The eventual subduing of the world that is agriculture has at least some of its basis where ambiguous behavior is ruled out, purity and defilement defined and enforced.

Lévi-Strauss defined religion as the anthropomorphism of nature; earlier spirituality was participatory with nature, not imposing cultural values or traits upon it. The sacred means that which is separated, and ritual and formalization, increasingly removed from the ongoing activities of daily life and in the control of such specialists as shamans and priests, are closely linked with hierarchy and institutionalized power. Religion emerges to ground and legitimize culture, by means of a "higher" order of reality; it is especially required, in this function of maintaining the solidarity of society, by the unnatural demands of agriculture.

In the Neolithic village of Catal Hüyük in Turkish Anatolia, one of every three rooms were used for ritual purposes. Plowing and sowing can be seen as ritual renunciations, according to Burkert, a form of systematic repression accompanied by a sacrificial element. Speaking of sacrifice, which is the killing of domesticated animals (or even humans) for ritual purposes, it is pervasive in agricultural societies and found only there.

Some of the major Neolithic religions often attempted a symbolic healing of the agricultural rupture with nature through the mythology of the earth mother, which needless to say does nothing to restore the lost unity. Fertility myths are also central: the Egyptian Osiris, the Greek Persephone, Baal of the Canaanites, and the New Testament Jesus, gods whose death and resurrection testify to the perserverance of the soil, not to mention the human soul. The first temples signified the rise of cosmologies based on a model of the universe as an arena of domestication or barnyard, which in turn serves to justify the suppression of human autonomy. Whereas precivilized society was, as Redfield put it, "held together by largely undeclared but continually realized ethical conceptions," religion developed as a way of creating citizens, placing the moral order under public management.

Domestication involved the initiation of production, vastly increased divisions of labor, and

the completed foundations of social stratification. This amounted to an epochal mutation both in the character of human existence and its development, clouding the latter with ever more violence and work. Contrary to the myth of hunter-gatherers as violent and aggressive, by the way, recent evidence shows that existing non-farmers, such as the Mbuti ("pygmies") studied by Turnbull, apparently do what killing they do without any aggressive spirit, even with a sort of regret. Warfare and the formation of every civilization or state, on the other hand, are inseparably linked.

Primal peoples did not fight over areas in which separate groups might converge in their gathering and hunting. At least "territorial" struggles are not part of the ethnographic literature and they would seem even less likely to have occurred in pre-history when resources were greater and contact with civilization non-existent.

Indeed, these peoples had no conception of private property, and Rousseau's figurative judgment, that divided society was founded by the man who first sowed a piece of ground, saying "This land is mine," and found others to believe him, is essentially valid. "Mine and thine, the seeds of all mischief, have no place with them," reads Pietro's 1511 account of the natives encountered on the second voyage of Columbus. Centuries later, surviving Native Americans asked, "Sell the Earth? Why not sell the air, the clouds, the great sea?" Agriculture creates and elevates possessions; consider the *longing* root of *belongings*, as if they ever make up for the loss.

#### *Sedentary and Servile Existence*

Work, as a distinct category of life, likewise did not exist until agriculture. The human capacity of being shackled to crops and herds, devolved rather quickly. Food production overcame the common absence or paucity of ritual and hierarchy in society and introduced civilized activities like the forced labor of temple-building. Here is the real "Cartesian split" between inner and outer reality, the separation whereby nature became merely something to be "worked." On this capacity for a sedentary and servile existence rests the entire superstructure of civilization with its increasing weight of repression.

Male violence toward women originated with agriculture, which transmuted women into beasts of burden and breeders of children. Before farming, the egalitarianism of foraging life "applied as fully to women as to men," judged Eleanor Leacock, owing to the autonomy of tasks and the fact that decisions were made by those who carried them out. In the absence of production and with no drudge work suitable for child labor such as weeding, women were not consigned to onerous chores or the constant supply of babies.

Along with the curse of perpetual work, via agriculture, in the expulsion from Eden, God told woman, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and that desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." Similarly, the first known codified laws, those of the Sumarian king, Ur-Namu, prescribed death to any woman satisfying desires outside of marriage. Thus Whyte referred to the ground women "lost relative to men when humans first abandoned a simple hunting and gathering way of life," and Simone de Beauvoir saw in the cultural equation of plow and phallus a fitting symbol of the oppression of women.

As wild animals are converted into sluggish meat-making machines, the concept of becoming "cultivated" is a virtue enforced on people, meaning the weeding out of freedom from one's nature, in the service of domestication and exploitation. As Rice points out, in Sumer, the first civilization, the

earliest cities had factories with their characteristic high organization and refraction of skills. Civilization from this point exacts human labor and the mass production of food, buildings, war and authority.

To the Greeks, work was a curse and nothing else. The name for it—*ponos*—has the same root as the Latin *poena*, sorrow. The famous Old Testament curse on agriculture as the expulsion from Paradise (Genesis 3:17-18) reminds us of the origin of work. As Mumford put it, "Conformity, repetition, patience, were the keys to this [Neolithic] culture...the patient capacity for work." In this monotony and passivity of tending and waiting is born, according to Paul Shepard, the peasant's "deep, latent resentments, crude mixtures of rectitude and heaviness, and absence of humor." One might also add a stoic insensitivity and lack of imagination inseparable from religious faith, sullenness, and suspicion among traits widely attributed to the domesticated life of farming.

Although food production by its nature includes a latent readiness for political domination and although civilizing culture was from the beginning its own propaganda machine, the changeover involved a monumental struggle. Fredy Perlman's *Against His-Story, Against Leviathan!* is unrivaled on this, vastly enriching Toynbee's attention to the "internal" and "external proletariats," discontents within and without civilization. Nonetheless, along the axis from digging stick farming to plow agriculture to fully differentiated irrigation systems, an almost total genocide of gatherers and hunters was necessarily effected.

The formation and storage of surpluses are part of the domesticating will to control and make static, an aspect of the tendency to symbolize. A bulwark against the flow of nature, surplus takes the forms of herd animals and granaries. Stored grain was the earliest medium of equivalence, the oldest form of capital. Only with the appearance of wealth in the shape of storable grains do the gradations of labor and social classes proceed. While there were certainly wild grains before all this (and wild wheat, by the way, is 24% protein compared to 12% for domesticated wheat) the bias of culture makes every difference. Civilization and its cities rested as much on granaries as on symbolization.

#### *The Origins of Agriculture*

The mystery of agriculture's origin seems even more impenetrable in light of the recent reversal of long-standing notions that the previous era was one of hostility to nature and an absence of leisure. "One could no longer assume," wrote Orme, "that early man domesticated plants and animals to escape drudgery and starvation. If anything, the contrary appeared true, and the advent of farming saw the end to innocence." For a long time, the question was "why wasn't agriculture adopted much earlier in human evolution?" More recently, we know that agriculture, in Cohen's words, "is not easier than hunting and gathering and does not provide a higher quality, more palatable, or more secure food base." Thus the consensus question now is, "why was it adopted at all?"

Many theories have been advanced, none convincingly. Childe and others argue that population increase pushed human societies into more intimate contact with other species, leading to domestication and the need to produce in order to feed the additional people. But it has been shown rather conclusively that population increase did not precede agriculture but was caused by it. "I don't see any evidence anywhere in the world," concluded Flannery, "that suggests that population pressure was responsible for the beginning of agriculture." Another theory has it that major climatic changes occurred at the end of the Pleistocene, about 11,000 years ago, which upset the old hunter-gatherer life-



world and led directly to the cultivation of certain surviving staples. Recent dating methods have helped demolish this approach; no such climatic shift happened that could have forced the new mode into existence. Besides, there are scores of examples of agriculture being adopted—or refused—in every type of climate. Another major hypothesis is that agriculture was introduced via chance discovery or invention as if it had never occurred to the species before a certain moment that, for example, food grows from sprouted seeds. It seems certain that Paleolithic humanity had a virtually inexhaustible knowledge of flora and fauna for many tens of thousands of years before the cultivation of plants began, which renders this theory especially weak.

Agreement with Carl Sauer's summation that, "Agriculture did not originate from a growing or chronic shortage of food" is sufficient, in fact, to dismiss virtually all originary theories that have been advanced. A remaining idea, presented by Hahn, Isaac and others, holds that food production began at base as a religious activity. This hypothesis comes closest to plausibility.

Sheep and goats, the first animals to be domesticated, are known to have been widely used in religious ceremonies, and to have been raised in enclosed meadows for sacrificial purposes. Before they were domesticated, moreover, sheep had no wool suitable for textile purposes. The main use of the hen in southeastern Asia and the eastern Mediterranean—the earliest centers of civilization—"seems to have been," according to Darby,

"sacrificial or divinatory rather than alimentary." Sauer adds that the "egg laying and meat producing qualities" of tamed fowl "are relatively late consequences of their domestication." Wild cattle were fierce and dangerous; neither the docility of oxen nor the modified meat texture of such castrates could have been foreseen. Cattle were not milked until centuries after their initial captivity, and representations indicate that their first known harnessing was to wagons in religious processions.

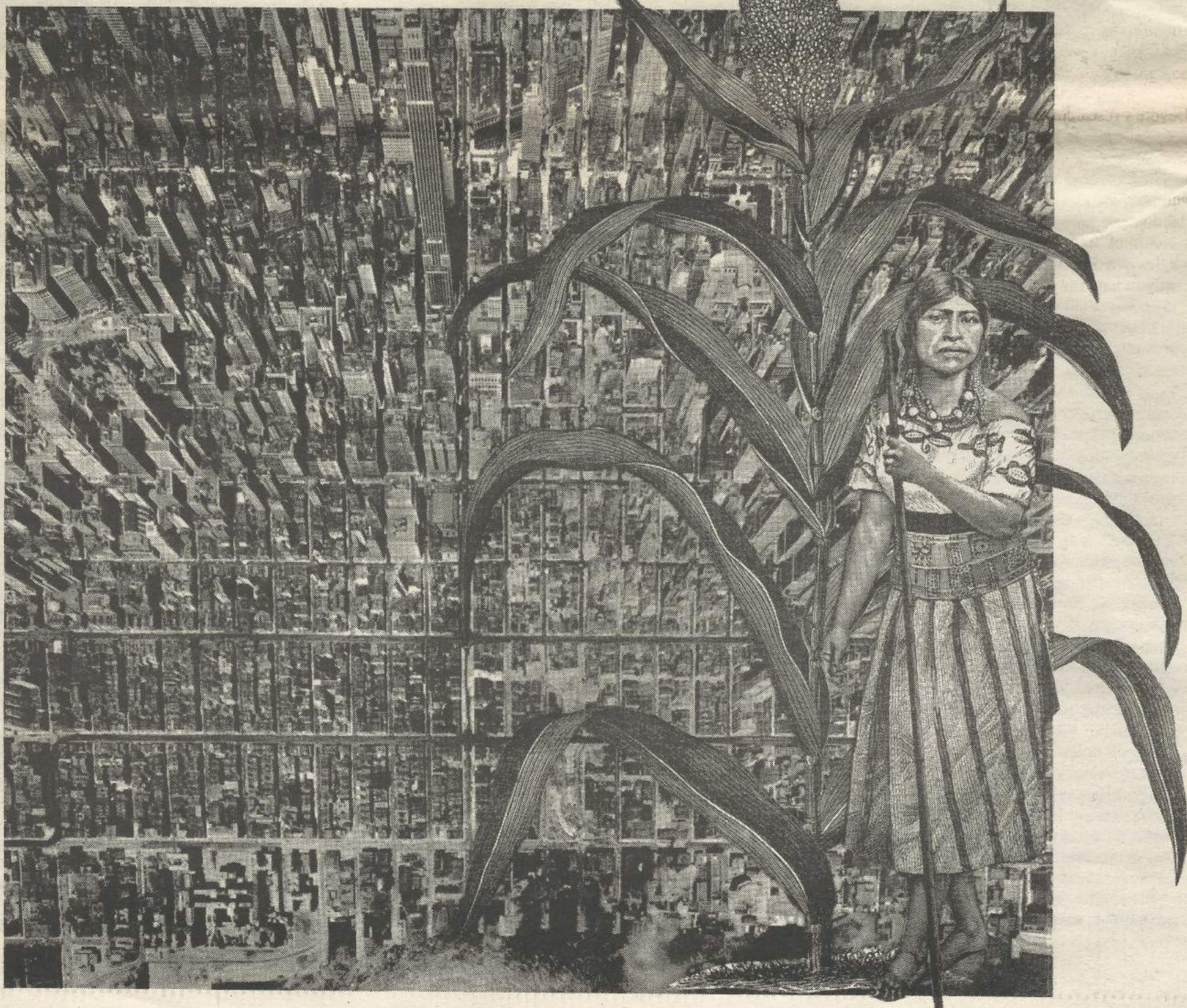
Plants, next to be controlled, exhibit similar backgrounds so far as is known. Consider the New World examples of squash and pumpkin, used originally as ceremonial rattles. Johannessen discussed the religious and mystical motives connected with the domestication of maize, Mexico's most important crop and center of its native Neolithic religion. Likewise, Anderson investigated the selection and development of distinctive types of various cultivated plants because of their magical significance. The shamans, I should add, were well-placed in positions of power to introduce agriculture via the taming and planting involved in ritual and religion, sketchily referred to above.

Though the religious explanation of the origins of agriculture has been somewhat overlooked, it brings us, in my opinion, to the very doorstep of the real explanation of the birth of production: that non-rational, cultural force of alienation

which spread, in the forms of time, language, number and art, to ultimately colonize material and psychic life in agriculture. "Religion" is too narrow a conceptualization of this infection and its growth. Domination is too weighty, too all-encompassing, to have been solely conveyed by the pathology that is religion.

But the cultural values of control and uniformity that are part of religion are certainly part of agriculture, and from the beginning. Noting that strains of corn cross-pollinate very easily, Anderson studied the very primitive agriculturalists of Assam, the Naga tribe, and their variety of corn that exhibited no differences from plant to plant. True to culture, showing that it is complete from the beginning of production, the Naga kept their varieties so pure "only by a fanatical adherence to an ideal type." This exemplifies the marriage of culture and production in domestication, and its inevitable progeny, repression and work.

The scrupulous tending of strains of plants finds its parallel in the domesticating of animals, which also defies natural selection and re-establishes the controllable organic world at a debased, artificial level. Like plants, animals are mere things to be manipulated; a cow, for instance, is seen as a kind of machine for converting grass into milk. Transmuted from a state of freedom to that of helpless parasites, these animals become





completely dependent on man for survival. In domestic mammals, as a rule, the size of the brain becomes relatively smaller as specimens are produced that devote more energy to growth and less to activity. Placid, infantilized, typified perhaps by the sheep, most domesticated of herd animals; the remarkable intelligence of wild sheep is completely lost in their tamed counterparts. The social relationships among domestic animals are reduced to the crudest essentials. Non-reproductive parts of the life cycle are minimized, courtship is curtailed, and the animal's very capacity to recognize its own species is impaired.

Farming also created the potential for rapid environmental destruction and the new dominion over nature soon began to turn the green mantle that covered the birthplaces of civilization into barren and lifeless areas. "Vast regions have changed their aspect completely," estimates Zeuner, "always to quasi-drier condition, since the beginnings of the Neolithic." Deserts now occupy most of the areas where the high civilizations once flourished, and there is much historical evidence that these early formations inevitably ruined their environments.

Throughout the Mediterranean Basin and in the adjoining Near East and Asia, agriculture turned lush and hospitable lands into depleted, dry and rocky terrain. In *Critias*, Plato described Attica as "a skeleton wasted by disease," referring to the deforestation of Greece and contrasting it to its earlier richness. Grazing by goats and sheep, the first domesticated ruminants, was a major factor in the denuding of Greece, Lebanon, and North Africa, and the desertification of the Roman and Mesopotamian empires.

#### *Humans Were Long Lived*

Another, more immediate impact of agriculture, brought to light increasingly in recent years, involved the physical well-being of its subjects. Lee and Devore's researches show that "the diet of gathering peoples was far better than that of cultivators, that starvation is rare, that their health status was generally superior, and that there is a lower incidence of chronic disease." Conversely, Farb summarized, "Production provides an inferior diet based on a limited number of foods, is much less reliable because of blights and the vagaries of weather, and is much more costly in terms of human labor expended."

The new field of paleopathology has reached even more emphatic conclusions, stressing, as does Angel, the "sharp decline in growth and nutrition" caused by the changeover from food gathering to food production. Earlier conclusions about life span have also been revised. Although eyewitness Spanish accounts of the 16th century tell of Florida Indian fathers seeing their fifth generation before passing away, it was long believed that primitive people died in their 30's and 40's. Robson, Boyden and others have dispelled the confusion of longevity with life expectancy and discovered that current hunter-gatherers, barring injury and severe infection, often outlive their civilized contemporaries. During the industrial age fairly recently did life span lengthen for the species, and it is now widely recognized that in Paleolithic times humans were long-lived animals, once certain risks were passed. DeVries is correct in his judgment that duration of life dropped sharply upon contact with civilization.

"Tuberculosis and diarrheal disease had to await the rise of farming, measles and bubonic plague the appearance of large cities," wrote Jared Diamond. Malaria, probably the single greatest killer of humanity, and nearly all other infectious diseases are the heritage of agriculture. Nutritional and degenerative diseases in general appear with the reign of domestication and culture. Cancer, coronary thrombosis, anemia, dental caries, and mental disorders are but a few of the hallmarks of agriculture; previously

women gave birth with no difficulty and little or no pain.

People were far more alive in all their senses. Kung San, reported R.H. Post, have heard a single-engine plane while it was still seventy miles away, and many of them can see four moons of Jupiter with the naked eye. The summary judgment of Harris and Ross, as to "an overall decline in the quality—and probably in the length—of human life among farmers as compared with earlier hunter-gatherer groups," is understated.

One of the most persistent and universal ideas is that there was once a Golden Age of innocence before history began. Hesiod, for instance, referred to the "life-sustaining soil, which yielded its copious fruits unbribed by toil." Eden was clearly the home of hunter-gatherers and the yearning expressed by the historical images of paradise must have been that of disillusioned tillers of the soil for a lost life of freedom and relative ease.

The history of civilization shows the increasing displacement of nature from human experience, characterized in part by a narrowing of food choices. According to Rooney, prehistoric peoples found sustenance in over 1500 species of wild plants; whereas, "All civilizations," Wenke reminds us, "have been based on the cultivation of one or more of just six plant species: wheat, barley, millet, rice, maize, and potatoes."

It is a striking truth that over the centuries "the number of different edible foods which are actually eaten," Pyke points out, "has steadily dwindled." The world's population now depends for most of its subsistence on only about twenty genera of plants while their natural strains are replaced by artificial hybrids and the genetic pool of these plants becomes far less varied.

The diversity of food tends to disappear or flatten out as the proportion of manufactured foods increases. Today the very same articles of diet are distributed worldwide so that an Inuit Eskimo and an African native may soon be eating powdered milk manufactured in Wisconsin or frozen fish sticks from a single factory in Sweden. A few big multinationals such as Unilever, the world's biggest food production company, preside over a highly integrated service system in which the object is not to nourish or even to feed, but to force an ever-increasing consumption of fabricated, processed products upon the world.

When Descartes enunciated the principle that the fullest exploitation of matter to any use is the whole duty of man, our separation from nature was virtually complete and the stage was set for the Industrial Revolution. Three hundred and fifty years later this spirit lingers in the person of Jean Vorst, Curator of France's Museum of Natural History, who pronounces that our species, "because of intellect," can no longer re-cross a certain threshold of civilization and once again become part of a natural habitat. He further states, expressing perfectly the original and persevering imperialism of agriculture, "As the earth in its primitive state is not adopted to our expansion, man must shackle it to fulfill human destiny."

The early factories literally mimicked the agricultural model, indicating again that at base all mass production is farming. The natural world is to be broken and forced to work. One thinks of the mid-American prairies where settlers had to yoke six oxen to a plow in order to cut through the soil for the first time. Or a scene from the 1870s in *The Octopus* by Frank Norris, in which gang-plows were driven like "a great column of field artillery" across the San Joaquin Valley, cutting 175 furrows at once.

#### *Organic Is Mechanized*

Today the organic, what is left of it, is fully mechanized under the aegis of a few petrochemical

corporations. Their artificial fertilizers, pesticides, herbicides and near-monopoly of the world's seed stock define a total environment that integrates food production from planting to consumption. Although Lévi-Strauss is right that "Civilization manufactures monoculture like sugar beet," only since World War II has a completely synthetic orientation begun to dominate.

Agriculture itself takes more organic matter out of the soil than it puts back, and soil erosion is basic to the monoculture of annuals. Regarding the latter, some are promoted with devastating results to the land; along with cotton and soybeans, corn, which in its present domesticated state is totally dependent on agriculture for its existence, is especially bad. J. Russell Smith called it "the killer of continents...and one of the worst enemies of the human future." The erosion cost of one bushel of Iowa corn is two bushels of topsoil, highlighting the more general large-scale industrial destruction of farmland. The continuous tillage of huge monoculture, with massive use of chemicals and no application of manure or humus, obviously raised soil deterioration and soil loss to much higher levels.

The dominant agricultural mode has it that soil needs massive infusions of chemicals, supervised by technicians whose overriding goal is to maximize production. Artificial fertilizers and all the rest from this outlook eliminate the need for the complex life of the soil and indeed convert it into a mere instrument of production. The promise of technology is total control, a completely contrived environment that simply supersedes the natural balance of the biosphere.

But more and more energy is expended to purchase great monocultural yields that are beginning to decline, never mind the toxic contamination of the soil, groundwater and food. The U.S. Department of Agriculture says that cropland erosion is occurring in this country at a rate of two billion tons of soil a year. The National Academy of Sciences estimates that over one third of topsoil is already gone forever. The ecological imbalance caused by monocropping and synthetic fertilizers causes enormous increases in pests and crop diseases; since World War II, crop loss due to insects has actually doubled. Technology responds, of course, with spiralling applications of more synthetic fertilizers, and weed and pest killers, accelerating the crime against nature.

Another post-war phenomenon was the Green Revolution, billed as the salvation of the impoverished Third World by American capital and technology. But rather than feeding the hungry, the Green Revolution drove millions of poor people from farmlands in Asia, Latin America and Africa as victims of the program that fosters large corporate farms. It amounted to an enormous technological colonization creating dependency on capital-intensive agribusiness, destroying older agrarian communalism, requiring massive fossil fuel consumption and assaulting nature on an unprecedented scale.

Desertification, or loss of soil due to agriculture, has been steadily increasing. Each year, a total area equivalent to more than two Belgiums is being converted to desert worldwide. The fate of the world's tropical rainforests is a factor in the acceleration of this dessication: half of them have been erased in the past thirty years. In Botswana, the last wilderness region of Africa has disappeared like much of the Amazon jungle and almost half of the rainforests of Central America, primarily to raise cattle for the hamburger markets in the U.S. and Europe. The few areas safe from deforestation are where agriculture doesn't want to go; the destruction of the land is proceeding in the U.S. over a greater land area than was encompassed by the original thirteen colonies, just as it is at the heart of the severe African famine of the mid-'80s and the extinction of one species of wild animal and plant after another.



Returning to animals, one is reminded of the words of Genesis in which God said to Noah, "And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hands are they delivered." When newly discovered territory was first visited by the advance guard of production, as a wide descriptive literature shows, the wild mammals and birds showed no fear whatsoever of the explorers. The agriculturalized mentality, however, so aptly foretold in the biblical passage, projects an exaggerated belief in the *fierceness* of wild creatures, which follows from progressive estrangement and loss of contact with the animal world plus the need to maintain dominance over it.

The fate of domestic animals is defined by the fact that agricultural technologists continually look to factories as models of how to refine their own production systems. Nature is banished from these systems as, increasingly, farm animals are kept largely immobile throughout their deformed lives, maintained in high-density, wholly artificial environments. Billions of chickens, pigs and veal calves, for example, no longer even see the light of day much less roam the fields—fields growing silent as more and more pastures are plowed up to grow feed for these hideously confined beings.

The high-tech chickens, whose beak ends have been clipped off to reduce death due to stress-caused fighting, often exist four or even five to a 12" by 18" cage and are periodically deprived of food and water for up to ten days to regulate their egg-laying cycles. Pigs live on concrete floors with no bedding; foot-rot, tail-biting and cannibalism are endemic because of physical conditions and stress. Sows nurse their piglets separated by metal grates, mother and offspring barred from natural contact. Veal calves are often raised in

total darkness, chained to stalls so narrow as to disallow turning around or other normal postural adjustment. These animals are generally under regimens of constant medication due to the tortures involved and their heightened susceptibility to diseases: automated animal production relies upon hormones and antibiotics. Such systematic cruelty, not to mention the kind of food that results, brings to mind the fact that captivity itself and every form of enslavement has agriculture as its progenitor or model.

#### *Project of Subduing Nature*

Food has been one of our most direct contacts with the natural environment, but we are rendered increasingly dependent on a technological production system in which finally even our senses have become redundant; taste, once vital for judging a food's value or safety, is no longer experienced, but rather certified by a label. Overall, the healthfulness of what we consume declines and land once cultivated for food now produces coffee, tobacco, grains for alcohol, marijuana, and other drugs creating the context for famine. Even non-processed foods like fruits and vegetables are now grown to be tasteless and uniform because the demands of handling, transport and storage, not nutrition or pleasure, are the highest considerations.

Total war borrowed from agriculture to defoliate millions of acres in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War, but the plundering of the biosphere proceeds even more lethally in its daily, global forms. Food as a function of production has also failed miserably on the most obvious level: half of the world, as everyone knows, suffers from malnourishment ranging to starvation itself.

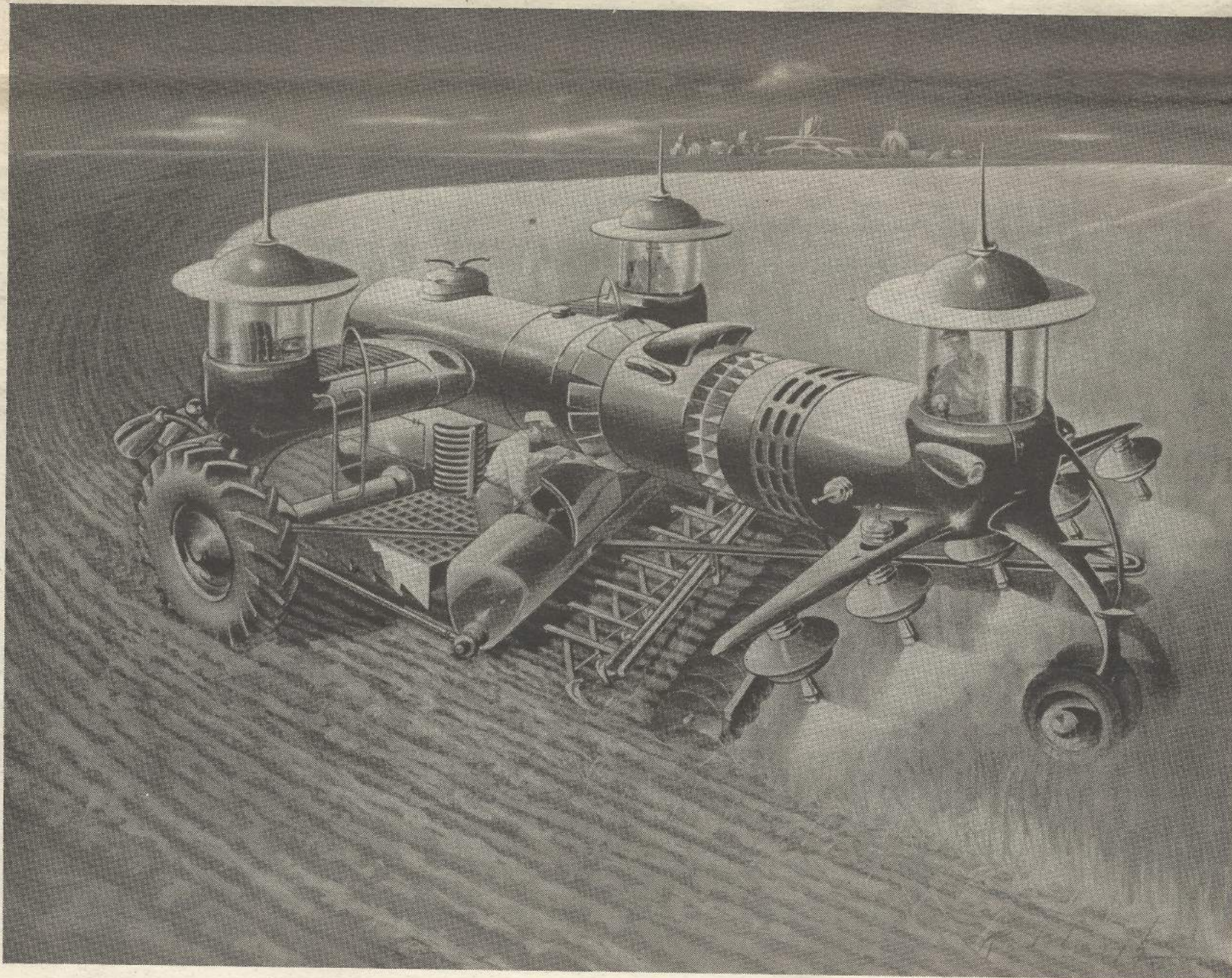
Meanwhile, the "diseases of civilization," as discussed by Eaton and Konner in the January 31, 1985 *New England Journal of Medicine* and contrasted with

the healthful pre-farming diets, underline the joyless, sickly world of chronic maladjustment we inhabit as prey of the manufacturers of medicine, cosmetics, and fabricated food. Domestication reaches new heights of the pathological in genetic food engineering, with new types of animals in the offing as well as contrived microorganisms and plants. Logically, humanity itself will also become a domesticated of this order as the world of production processes us as much as it degrades and deforms every other natural system.

The project of subduing nature, begun and carried through by agriculture, has assumed gigantic proportions. The "success" of civilization's progress, a success earlier humanity never wanted, tastes more and more like ashes. James Serpell summed it up this way: "In short we appear to have reached the end of the line. We cannot expand; we seem unable to intensify production without wreaking further havoc, and the planet is fast becoming a wasteland." Lee and Devore noted how fast all of this has come to pass and how, to "interplanetary archeologists" of the future, the probable fate of civilization would look: "...a very long and stable period of small-scale hunting and gathering was followed by an apparently instantaneous efflorescence of technology...leading rapidly to extinction. 'Stratigraphically' the origin of agriculture and thermonuclear destruction will appear as essentially simultaneous."

Physiologist Jared Diamond termed the initiation of agriculture "a catastrophe from which we have never recovered." Agriculture has been and remains a "catastrophe" at all levels, the one which underpins the entire material and spiritual culture of alienation now destroying us. Liberation is impossible without its dissolution.

—John Zerzan





# Letters to the Fifth Estate

Yo!

I'm reading the latest FE (Spring 1988) and finding it enjoyable as always, I would like to take issue, however, with your slam on the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). It appears to me that your anti-organizational ideology is blinding you to the real activity of real people.

I could understand your objections to the RSL's presence if you had real evidence of the calculated recruiting "entrism" you accuse them of. As an anarchist who has, since the Minneapolis Anarchist Gathering in June 1987, had friendly relations with a number of RSLers, I have yet to experience any recruitment efforts.

Rather I have had many interesting discussions quite unlike those I've had with other M-Ls. The RSLers I know are not arrogant about their leninist past or about their current positions. They acknowledge real mistakes and are critical of the role of ideology in those mistakes.

It seems to me that your own personal/political grudges have blinded you so much that you confuse the pernicious role of ideology with the human ideologues themselves. Ideologies have a hold on people because that is how we are trained to relate our ideas to our daily lives not because ideologues are "bad" people.

The fight against ideology is so difficult because we constantly reproduce ideology even when we grasp the critique of ideology. We all have dirty ideological pasts. It seems to me that you'll only be satisfied if RSLers publically flog themselves. (I've heard rumours that a "former trot" writes for the FE. How can you be sure this is not also a long term entrism campaign?)

What I suspect you really want is for the RSL to disband because of your objections to organizations per se. To my mind that would be counter-productive. As a small group (about 30 members nationally), the RSL is in practice a bunch of folks who like each other, share some common ideas and who are engaged in some common projects that are overwhelmingly anti-authoritarian. They are not unlike the FE, Back Room Anarchist Books or any number of other anti-authoritarian groups.

Your inability to see "free and autonomous individuals" in the RSL seems more a reflection of your own ideology than of the activity of the RSL in the anarchist milieu. Perhaps RSL members in Detroit are unrepentant knuckleheads. Certainly they haven't all mastered the intricacies of "anti-ideological" situ-speak. That seems to be a prerequisite for relating to some FE folk as "free and autonomous individuals." If the FE is at all serious about their rejection of mediated relations,

let them show it in their acts, not just their newspaper.

**Loosen Up,  
Chris Gunderson  
Back Room Anarchist  
Books  
2 East 27th St.  
Mpls MN 55408**

E.B. Maple replies: Doth the anarchist protest too much? I would put more stock in Chris' impassioned defense of this post-leninist organization if it were not for the fact that his newsletter, *RABL Rouser*, appears in the centerspread of the latest edition of *The Torch*, the RSL newspaper.

Is Chris ready to join these left-over trotskysts? One would hope not. The RSL is in a period of terminal collapse, perhaps the only good thing which can be said about it. But rather than taking this as a lesson to be learned as to the fate of organizations, Chris, instead, sees possibilities. The problem is that the RSL probably does as well. The RSL's attempted penetration of the anarchist milieu hasn't been to aggressively seek recruits, but rather to utilize a softer strategy which entails just being around for those who feel that an organizational form will create a coherence which the anarchist movement presently lacks.

Admittedly, anarchism remains at the margins of political activity in this country and life within the "scene" can be highly frustrating at times. The lure of structural solutions which will mobilize anti-authoritarians into a more disciplined and committed grouping must be tempting, but such a project has no more chance of success than when attempted by leftists.

Chris and his comrades in Minneapolis have been extremely active in the burgeoning anarchist movement in activities such as Back Room Books, the ongoing anti-authoritarian militancy in that city, and events such as the 1987 Anarchist Gathering. It would be a shame to have this locked within the prisonhouse of a socialist organization.

Anarchists, no less than leftists, will find their organization filled only with those personality types willing to submit to the stifling requirements of bureaucratic political life. The organization—people grouped programmatically—is the antithesis of the anarchist affinity group where it is close, personal commitment which is the connecting element. Organizations are a lightning rod for the obsessional compulsive personality which functions best through the mediation of a formal organization.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that even in Chris' letter he is not defending "free and autonomous individuals," but rather "RSLers"—the submerging of the individual totally within the organization. This must be clear even to Chris who still refers to a comrade of ours who quit the trotskyst movement 20 years ago as an *ex-member*; it's like the mark of Cain.

Organizations within capital—what Camatte calls gangs—usually have no potential other than to become the squabbling sects and cults that we see littering the leftist landscape. The rare gang which escapes this dismal fate is the one which attains the status of racket such as when a Communist Party comes to dominate a European trade union or actually con-

quers the power of the state apparatus. Either way, the history of the political gang is a sorry one and its future will be no brighter with an anarchist sheen to it.

The revolutionary organization or party will come along when the revolution does. It won't be a formal one which tries to bring all of the crap of this society into the future, but one which is defined by the sweep of events while unraveling state authority and capitalism. It won't even be seen as an organization in the traditional sense since it will involve most of society in creating a new world—it will be the process of revolution itself.

Until then, it seems to me that we, as anti-authoritarians should remain true to our credo of voluntary, decentralized, non-bureaucratic forms of association. We have a unique message which contrasts sharply with the false negativity of leftism, and the building of our communities of resistance should act as both the form of struggle and the model for a new society. Organizational forms affirm the bureaucratic administration of human affairs while placing us no closer to revolution; in fact, they probably inhibit the process.

P.S. I would be glad to send my article, "Anarchy & The Left," for a SASE, which appeared in the Spring 1987 FE, where this issue is discussed in greater length.

## Computers I

Dear FE Folks,

I find your discussion about whether or not to get a computer to help put out the FE fascinating (see Detroit Seen, last issue). Personally, I have found the eagerness of many papers and groups to jump into the computer age disturbing (especially with my experience with various folks in Toronto).

I'm not afraid of computers (I use them at work at times), but I don't feel they have a place in our lives, as we try to maintain alternative lifestyles. We can function without them and they are just another trapping of our wonderful mechanistic civilization.

A small example: I have always stuck to buying/acquiring manual typewriters because my own muscle power can make use of the machine perfectly well, instead of getting an electric machine, plugging it into the wall and sucking up more of Ontario hydro's nuclear powered energy.

Well, I have no great ideas or solutions, but I am greatly encouraged and heartened to see that someone is actually thinking about the impact and significance of getting more sophisticated technology.

Take care,

**Nicole  
Urgl-Orp and Stuff  
PO Box 2541, Stn. D  
Ottawa, Ont., Canada  
K1P 5W6**

*FE Note: Urgl-Orp is an excellent anarchist zine concerned with anarchy and the environment.*

## Computers II

My Dearest Fifth Estate:

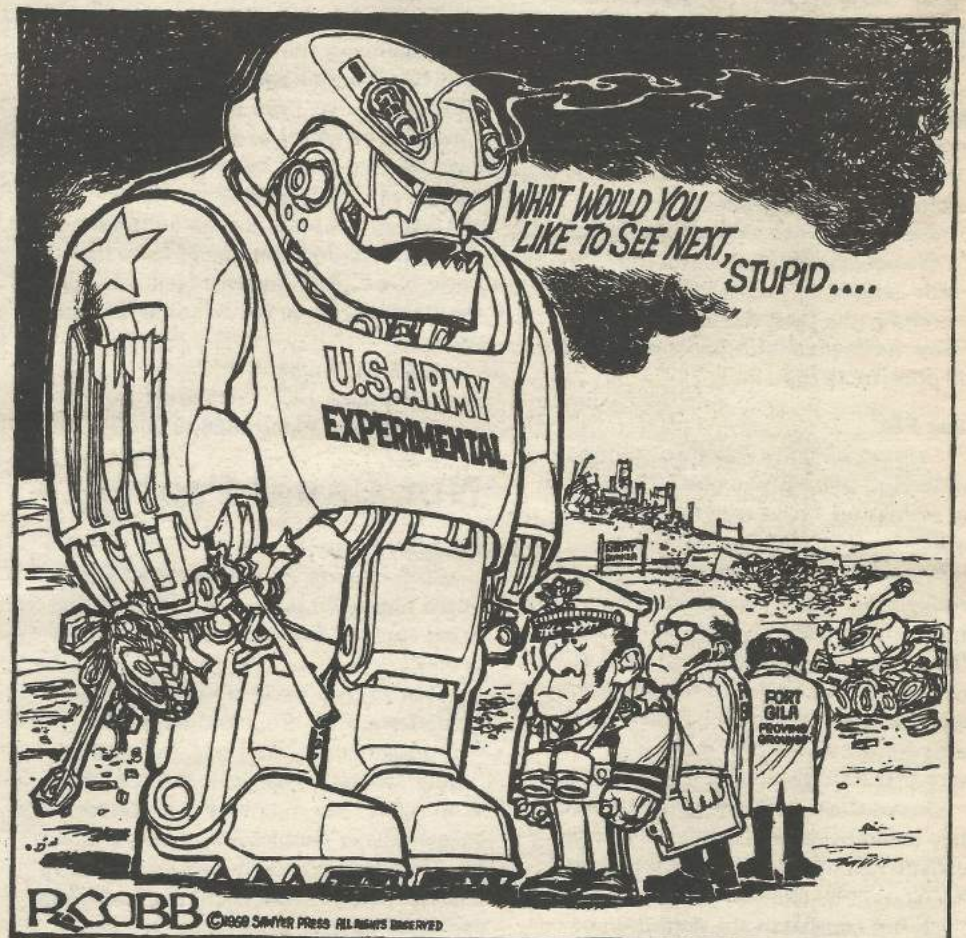
I note your typesetting equipment has been declared "obsolete" and you dread entering the "Computer Age." (See FE Spring 1988)

Frankly, I feel that an "anti-technology" argument has its limits. It reminds me of the novel *Erewhon*, where they debated which tools were legitimate after they abolished machines. Also, old MOVE literature that was handwritten (!) and then printed on newsprint.

From what I've seen of typesetting machines, they are computers. The difference is that a typesetting machine is more difficult to use, more difficult to make corrections and changes on, more expensive to maintain, has chemicals to deal with, and isn't much FUN!

Please explain to me the difference, from a values perspective, of using a computer from using a typesetting machine. They both are technology with keyboards

Continued on next page





and screens, for christ's sake! Also, how do you accept the printing press? Wouldn't handwritten notes to friends be more in keeping with your principles?

Obviously, I'm baiting you. I'm *not* a computer fanatic. I write notes like this by hand, yet, if we accept the premise that we need newspapers, computers are the only way to go. I hope the "computer question" doesn't break up your collective. Best of luck resolving this issue. Keep up the struggle against the state, capitalism and industrial waste.

Zvi Baranoff  
Green Action  
P.O. Box 2044  
Cottonwood AZ 86326

**FE Note:** This is being typeset on an IBM Selectric Composer (stand-alone unit) circa 1965. It is entirely mechanical although extremely intricate and predated the computer revolution—no screen, etc. I can't imagine typesetting being "fun" under any circumstances and every advantage you list for a computer, our typesetter has over a wordprocessor and it does not use chemicals. What you describe is the "death of a 1000 cuts" - why resist any of the modern world? It's all the same, afterall.

If we can stay with the same convivial technology that has served us for two decades without the need for large cash outlays, service contracts and "trained" operators, so much the better. The tricks computers can do are certainly intriguing, but humans have done without them quite well for almost all of our history.

Fortunately, we just received a mailing from *The Printer's Devil*, which in turn, gave us a contact for a newsletter which deals with outdated composers. Maybe we can save this old baby from the scrapheap after all.

## Computers III

**FE Note:** In the following letter the term "serif," as it refers to the design of typefaces, means the little squiggles attached to the arms of each individual character or letter of the alphabet. "Sans serif" simply means "without" the squiggles and is a typeface like the one you are presently reading. Each age produces uniquely designed typefaces and, as our letterwriter indicates, the particular design often meshes in with the tenor of the time.

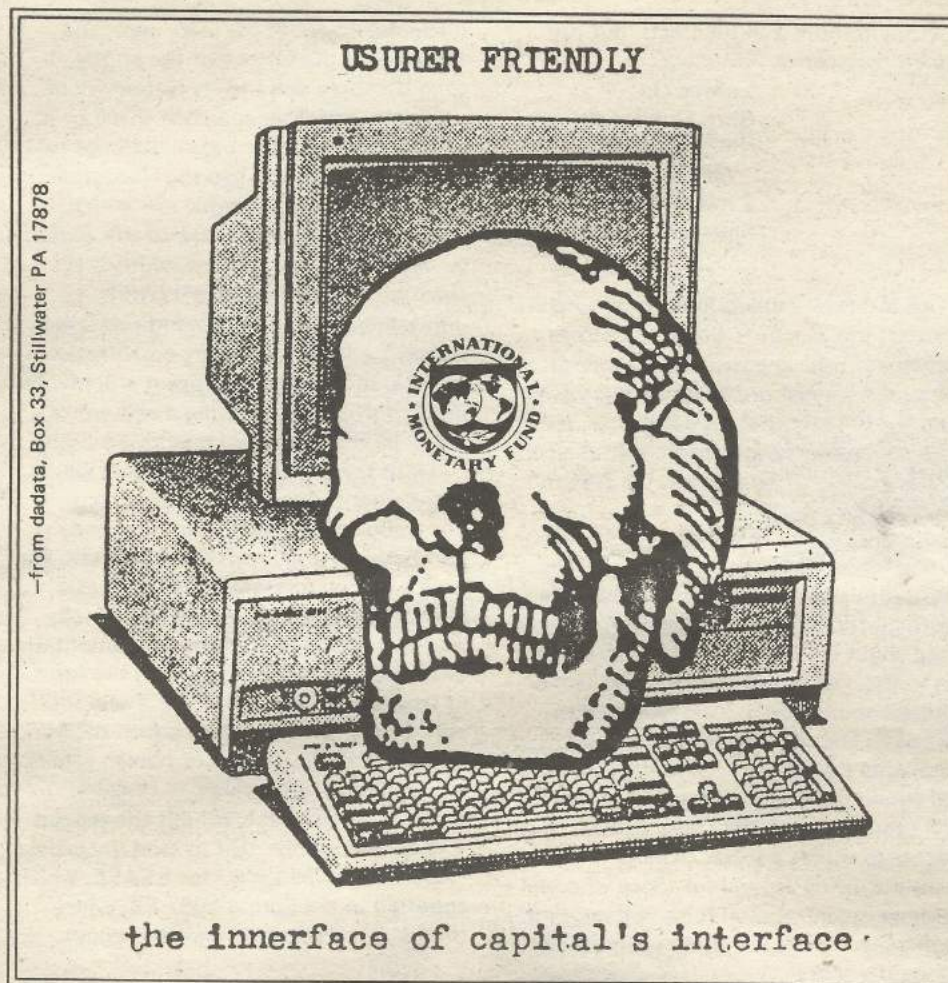
We actually think the observations made are worth considering and may search for the Press Roman style type elements in which this paper was published prior to 1975.

Dear FE:

I am working my way through the issue of Spring 1983 FE you sent. The article on computers I have read and find interesting.

When I say I am working my way through the issue I mean it literally. It is the motivation for my writing this letter. The sans serif typeface you use is pretty hard going. And it seems to me particularly inappropriate for FE as sans serif faces are the epitome of modernity (they were first introduced in the late 1950's).

One of their chief selling points is that they could be reproduced legibly (if not readably) using the offset-litho process during its early commercial days, when it was not capable of the definition of



letterpress reproduction. Designers tend to characterize sans serif faces with words like "urgent," "blunt," "severe," "utile," "orderly," and "new." These may be (and do seem to be) messages you want your pages to convey but there are roman (serifed) faces which will convey the same character and which are more readable (Times Roman is the standby).

Just as a thought, since you only publish three times a year and you prefer to use equipment which is easily accessible to all who work on your projects, have you considered letterpress (and handset type)? The "Tool of the Year" article ends with the sentence, "We will have to create communities of resistance—but there must be resistance."

For my own part, I tend to agree with this statement, though I rarely bother to take direct action against the State. Instead, I do what I can (with *The Printer's Devil*, for instance) to encourage alternatives to what might be called, politely, mainstream society. It seems to me that the web-offset press is a manifestation of the state-of-mind you object to in the pages of FE. And my own feeling is that the state cannot be bested using its own weapons.

Joe M. Singer  
P.O. Box 135  
Harrison Idaho 83833-0135

## Not Usual Protest

Dear 5th Estate,

After reading "Give Chance a Piece" in the Spring 88 issue, I had to write and relate some of my experiences at that protest.

Though the "usual crowd" was there (leafletters, RCP drones, loudmouths with megaphones, etc.) this was hardly a "usual" protest. The Navy attacking Brian Wilson like they did, mere days before, angered many people. There were entire families there, grandmothers, local Contra Costa county residents, and the feeling was decidedly different than most protests

part!)

The NA is too wimpy for me personally, but all in all, a perfect example of people working together, without all the usual hot air beforehand and lack of results after.

Tom Jennings  
San Francisco

## Needs Help

Dear Friends:

An Indian comrade, who has worked for the last three years in Bhopal, has asked for assistance in obtaining material and contacts on anarchist approaches to education, both theoretical and practical. Anyone who has material or experiences to share, please write to Satinath Sarangi, 39 Govind Gardens, Govindpura, Bhopal 462 023, Madhya Pradesh, India.

Tomas Mac Sheoin  
Dublin, Ireland

## No RCP-Prop

Dear FE,

I would like to congratulate George Bradford on his well-done critique of the deep ecology movement (Fall 1987 FE), your entire staff for deciding to take a long-needed break from your tiresome tabloid format, and Freddie Baer for her excellent graphics. I hope to see future experimentation in format and content (and please no more idiotic copies of RCP propaganda such as the picture of Oliver North which was altered to look like Hitler) (Summer 1987 FE).

Jim Passin  
Chelmsford, MA

**FE Note:** The item below as provided to us from Tuli Kupferberg's Vanity Press, 160 6th Ave., NY NY 10013 from what he asserts came from a recent *New York Times*. Tuli produces an immense volume of parodies, song lyrics and cartoons available from him for a trade or a couple of bucks.

## Corrections

Because of an editing error, an article in some editions of *Business Day* yesterday about the new law firm of Myerson & Kohn incorrectly described the financial status of Booth, Marcus & Pierce, a law firm whose partners joined the new firm. Booth Marcus and Pierce specialized in bankruptcy law; it was not bankrupt.

An article in The Living Section yesterday about duck research misidentified a center that serves as a kind of "fat farm" for ducks. It is the Cornell University Duck Research Laboratory in Eastport, L.I.

The *New York Times* regrets that since the purchase of the paper in 1896 by Adolph S. Ochs its editors have presented a distorted view of American and world history due to the fact that they are part of the ideological superstructure of U.S. and world capitalism.

They would hope to do better after the social revolution and beg their readers' indulgence until that time.

I've been to. The Neuremburg Action (NA) people did lots of work, organizing and publicising, and I believe are mostly responsible for the 8000+ turnout on extremely short notice.

I wasn't aware that ripping up the tracks was a planned event. I had erroneously assumed it was spontaneous. In any case, I was there when an NA spokesperson denounced the track destruction as a violent act, etc., which I like so many others thought was a crock of shit.

However, she (and later, others) voiced their opinions and reasoning, and so did the track-ripper-uppers, in a civilized manner, and then both went their own ways. In other words, two very different groups of people reached an agreement, and coexisted in a "real-life" environment. What more could be asked for? I don't think it's necessary, or even good, that all groups agree at all steps. There is no need to slag the NA people; if anything, they should be applauded for helping put together a successful event.

As far as destroying 100 feet of railroad tracks goes, it was a good thing (and fun!) but a more or less symbolic act. I talked to many people about it, and most realized that the tracks would be put back together as soon as they were really needed. I mean, seriously, railroad track technology is well over 100 years old, even if 10 cubic yards of gravel were removed it would hardly slow down repairs.

People were really angry, and this was something you could actually "do now". Also, it seemed obvious at the time that the Bad Guys knew that fucking with the protesters could only do themselves harm. They had to just stand and watch, and that made everyone all the more gleeful. (Especially with those Star Wars type faceless Marine goons in the navy yard - black uniform, black helmet and face-shield, full auto weapons, standing shoulder to shoulder just far back enough so's you can't get too good a look, and they never moved once; great theatre on their





Photo/B. Brown

Greenpeace climbers hang anti-incinerator banner from 7th floor of Detroit's RenCen June 16.

## Stopping The Incinerator Starting The Movement

Continued from Page 4

cern was the incinerator and who had fairly conventional ideas of how to stop it, i.e., media, lobbying, electoral activities, etc.

We were extremely anxious not to function or even to be conceived of as traditional leftists trying to manipulate a reform effort around a hidden, radical agenda. On the other hand, we made no attempt to hide our radical ideas from the group and sought to insert them where we thought appropriate, but always working in such a manner so as not to dominate the setting or make others uncomfortable with our views.

However, this meant that the overall politics of the group reflected those of the more numerous, less radical people involved and the organization took on the political character of a single-issue reform group, but with the radicals being central to much of the planning and staffing of the organizing efforts. In order to work successfully with others, a fuller critique of industrialism and capitalism fell by the wayside and we often wound up in the unenviable position of carrying out tasks, being in roles, and advocating positions we had previously polemicized against. (A small, but to me, not insignificant example is how, during the march, the old chant of "5,6,7,8; organize and smash the state," had its rhyming couplet changed to say, "recycle, don't incinerate.")

Also, the form of the Mobilization was problematic in itself. A large, amorphous coalition such as the Evergreen Alliance which involved people of differing levels of political understanding, commitment and skills creates almost the necessity for hierarchical administration, and one quickly consolidated around those from the radical core, and existed right through to the end of the events.

This leadership structure was recognized as such by all of those who attended the weekly planning and work sessions, with the only disapproval of it coming

from those who had an anti-authoritarian critique to begin with. The others saw such a hierarchy as a necessity and the normal way in which such affairs are handled. Leaders were seen as necessary to negotiate with the police, contact the media, do fund raising and to make quick and final decisions while coordinating a massive undertaking. When this style of leadership was combined with an incredible schedule of work and meetings in preparation for the events, it all began to take on a character we had previously identified with the leftist milieu.

Part of the problem was structural: an equality of relationships such as those striven for on small projects such as this newspaper become impossible within the context of a large, political body. Within the Fifth Estate collective we've been trying to work on the process of decision making, struggling to overcome the hierarchies of sex, age and experience, and although flawed and never seemingly satisfactorily completed, it remains as one of our goals. This process is never at issue in groups like the Evergreen Alliance since it has only an external political goal and probably is too large and mediated a structure to even come to grips with the problem.

As the weeks proceeded it became clear that our organizing efforts were hitting a responsive chord in the community immediately adjacent to the incinerator site and within the larger ecology milieu. This widespread acceptance of our message almost assured that our radical views would be severely reduced in favor of ones of liberal reform. We had effectively arrived at a position critiqued in these pages in June of 1982 following an anti-nuke conference we had organized.

Bob Brubaker, in an article entitled "Anti-Anti-Nuke," talked about the necessity of raising "questions of fundamental importance regarding the miserable lives we are forced to lead in capitalist commodity society." He continued, "To me, a movement that criticizes daily life without ever mentioning nuclear weapons is far more profound than a movement which criticizes nuclear weapons without ever mentioning daily life."

Our anti-nuke efforts were perhaps better than Bob makes out as were our efforts in our organizing around ecology issues, but his reproach had an accurate

ring to it as we continued. As we went around to churches, universities, and community groups, often dressed in suits and ties, seeking endorsements and donations, no mention was ever made of an overall anti-industrial, anti-capitalist perspective which normally animates our conversations.

To our audience, we were probably just good-hearted ecologists doing the yeoman's work of stopping pollution so daily life could continue unabated and unchallenged. It's doubtful that if they had viewed us as implacable opponents of this entire system—its political machine, its economy, and its culture—we would have seen such support forthcoming from them as we did.

As it turned out, the formal, liberal endorsements we obtained didn't amount to much. We had estimated, from the level of pre-march support, that we would have between 1-2000 people at our Saturday demonstration. It was a shock to several of us to see only one-fifth of the high number attending when we had received endorsements from as far away as Ohio and Wisconsin and had launched an extensive publicity and media campaign. Why did so many stay at home? In part, it seems as though we experienced the "Greenpeace phenomenon"—people feel deeply about the ecological crisis, even angry, but wind up paying a core of militant activists to do the actual "job" of defending the planet.

After seeing the results of the week-end, it seems to me that we could have had much more overtly radical actions with less compromise to our beliefs and still had almost the same number of people in attendance.

On the other hand, this is not to say that a totally liberal and reform approach prevailed at all times and nary a word of radicalism even uttered. Most participants in the Evergreen Alliance knew that radicals were at the center of things and we often had an important impact on the political direction of the group or functioned to head off some of the worst suggestions for tactics, i.e., inviting politicians to speak, initiating referendums, etc.

The Mobilization Call to Action was written by us as were the radical critiques in the anti-incinerator tabloid which was produced (still available by the way). Also, George Bradford from the Fifth Estate staff, spoke forcefully for an anti-industrial, anti-civilization point of view on several occasions before and during the week-end, and was seen by many as the main spokesperson for the Alliance.

Undoubtedly, people were affected by our statements, articles and speeches and much of our radical critique was taken as eloquent and even accurate, but it probably seemed unrealistic when it came to achieving the immediate goal of stopping the incinerator. Also, what we *did*, in terms of acting out the dominant mode of politics, reinforced the notion of practical, that is, reformist solutions.

For instance, one man, who seemed particularly moved by a talk of Bradford's linking the degradation of the environment of the Great Lakes with the destruction of the Central American rainforests by the same world system of capital, was the first to leap from his seat at a subsequent meeting to suggest we should all contact "our" legislators. This illustrated a sense that our remarks appeared as beautiful, but unattainable and that was

reinforced by the fact that we were administering an effort which included numerous other speakers who proposed nuts and bolts solutions.

Almost all of the other speakers besides Sells, Bradford and the native american accepted the contours of this society as they exist. Connett, the waste disposal expert, assured us at every turn that if we would only employ proper waste disposal procedures, the current levels of production and consumption could easily be maintained and that recycling would even create jobs. He was roundly cheered as were the other advocates of recycling throughout the week-end. Whoopee! We bust our butts for five months and spend hundreds of dollars to fly in a guy who advocates work and everything else we've been denouncing for the last 13 years.

### Confrontation With The State

So, was it a worthless undertaking and is it all bleakness? Happily, and perhaps surprisingly, I'd say, not at all. There is a radicalization afoot in the land, and here in Detroit, it took form through the Great Lakes Mobilization. Maybe it didn't have as militant a character as the building of street barricades by anti-authoritarians in Minneapolis (see p.3), but it was part of the same spirit.

To many of the participants, particularly the younger ones, the effort against the incinerator is a radical issue of confrontation with the state and part of their passionate desire to defend the planet. And, they're right; that's exactly what is at issue, and we should let the spirit which prevailed at the march and the sit-in be what guides further actions. At the same time though, a clear understanding of what social and political forces control this single abuse of a decaying system needs to be kept in the foreground of our consciousness.

All reforms have as their function the affirmation and extension of the dominant culture and it has had the capacity in the past of buying off even the best of militant confrontational movements. It seems to me that an anti-incinerator movement is pitifully inadequate to battle the totality of what we face. Fighting for one reform after the next, we will find it impossible to keep up with the abuses. If there is hope, it lies in forming revolutionary communities, based on anti-authoritarian precepts, which fight to defend themselves against assaults like the incinerator.

In spite of getting sucked into a bit of liberal bullshit, I don't think the radicals have much to apologize for. I think we made some mistakes, but this was our first foray into mass activity like the Evergreen Alliance and we've all learned a lot from the experience. Our radical community emerged stronger and larger than before the week-end, so we must have done some things right.

As an indication, many of those who attended the Toronto Anarchist Gathering from Detroit, whose contingent numbered about 60, also played strong roles in the anti-incinerator effort. Of the 19 arrested in the Detroit sit-in, almost all of them went to the Gathering.

The May events and the Gathering, both left us all hungering for more, so I hope people will take my remarks in the positive manner in which they were made and if they make any sense, just push on further.

—E.B. Maple





## News & Reviews

The Alternative Press Center, Box 33109, Baltimore MD 21218, indexes this newspapers and dozens more radical, socialist, feminist and alternative publications as well. They have just released the 1988-89 *Directory of Alternative and Radical Publications* with over 300 periodicals listed; \$3. They also publish quarterly the *Alternative Press Index*, which lists 200 alternative publications by subject; ind.—\$30/year; Libraries—\$110.

The Blanks album sounds better loud . . . and that's always a good sign. Up-tempo melodies and solid, danceable beats belie the sometimes humorous, sometimes sobering message carried by the ten tunes on this Detroit band's first full-length LP (two singles have been previously released, reviewed in FE issue Vol. 21, No. 2 (325)).

This works to the Blanks' advantage—the more "pop" the sound, the more the lyrics take you by surprise with commentaries on rebellion ("Roots & Radicals"); the stress of feeling forced to succeed at any cost ("Kathy's Run"); and sexual politics (take your pick!).

A highlight is "Salvation Radio," which anyone who lives where the airwaves are a wasteland can identify with, and that includes just about all of us. The song decries the constant acquiescence of mass media to big bucks/big business, which in turn brainwashes listeners who often don't know any better than to consume what's put in front of them.

A multi-vocal approach and competent musicianship with some innovative production make for a pleasing effect overall. Followers of Detroit's local scene will detect a definite Layabouts influence. A lyric sheet is included, and you're sure to receive a reply with further information on a variety of mind-opening subjects if you write the Blanks. Available from Falsified Records, P.O. Box 1010, Birmingham, MI, 48012 or through the FE bookstore for \$8 postpaid.

The first issue of *Possessed: A Seattle Magazine of Anti-Authoritarian Thought & Culture* is a nicely balanced mix of spirited and provocative poetry, graphics and articles. Articles on clearcutting, television, "The Schism between Knowing and Feeling," homelessness, "Possession," and one on the frustration of trying to communicate with established anarchist voices. The *Possessed* people hope to put out their second issue in a couple of months. Write: *Possessed*, 1643 South King St., Seattle WA 98114.

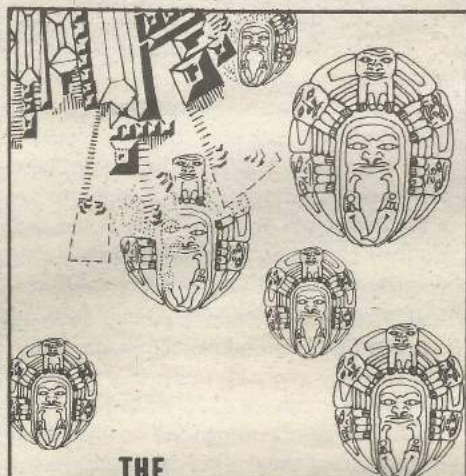
*Anarchy: a journal of desire armed*, POB 1446, Columbia MO 65205, has a new issue; definitely worth checking out.

# FE BOOKSTORE

The FE Bookstore is located at 4632 Second Ave., just south of W. Forest, in Detroit. We share space with the Fifth Estate Newspaper and may be reached at the same phone number: (313)831-6800. Visitors are welcome, but our hours vary so please call before dropping in.

### HOW TO ORDER BY MAIL:

1) List the title of the book, quantity wanted, and the price of each; 2) add 10% for mailing costs—not less than \$.90 U.S. or \$1.34 foreign (minimum for 4th class book rate postage); 3) total; 4) write check or money order to: The Fifth Estate; 5) mail to: The Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 02548, Detroit MI 48202 USA.



## THE STRAIT NEW

### IN SEARCH OF THE PRIMITIVE: A CRITIQUE OF CIVILIZATION

by Stanley Diamond

Diamond is critical of the discipline of anthropology and of the civilization that produced it. He views the anthropologist who refuses to become a critic of civilization as a tool of it. Diamond rejects the notion of the superiority and searches for the primitive as an alternative and superior mode of intersecting with the world. Transaction Books 385pp \$19 (!)

### THE BLACK FLAG: A Look Back at the Strange Case of Sacco and Vanzetti

by Brian Jackson

Accused of murder and robbery the two Italian immigrants were executed in 1927 after a universally recognized unfair trial. "Both were guilty—and proudly so—of a cultural crime. They were foreign, working-class, armed and anarchist. . . . In the end, it was for this that the State executed them." from the text. RKP t)\*208pp hb ????????

### THE TREASURE OF THE SIERRA MADRE

by B. Traven

Traven's novel surpasses John Houston's fine film version by its stinging critique of property and how ownership erodes the basis of human solidarity. Not preachy at all and creates the basis for the suspense-filled, compelling film which starred Humphrey Bogart. Highly recommended Farrar Straus Giroux 300pp ????

### Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow

by Peter Kropotkin

An anarchist classic out of print in England for over 50 years. "Here is a suppressed tradition of philosophy and politics, which, as Marxist and capitalist ideology disintegrate or ossify, more and more people will be wanting to consider." Peter Abbs in *The Ecologist*. "The ways that Kropotkin suggested, how (wo)men can at once begin to live better, are still the ways; the evils he attacked are. . . still the evils." P. Goodman Freedom Press 205pp \$7.00

### THE STRAIT: BOOK OF OBENABI—HIS SONGS

by Fredy Perlman

This is Book One of the two-volume novel that Fredy Perlman began working on ten years ago; this part was complete at the time of his death in 1985.

Tracing the history of the inhabitants of the woodlands around the Strait (now Detroit) from pre-history to the 1830s, the encroachment of European Civilization is examined from the perspective of the victims rather than the victors. The book concentrates on the variety of forms that resistance to the invader took. These forms of resistance are what interested Fredy as he saw many parallels between contemporary encroachments and the history of the invaders' westward march. This account eloquently supports Fredy's belief that to resist is to be human.

Black & Red

400pp.

\$5

### SEA OF SLAUGHTER by Farley Mowat

The "Sea" of the title is the northeastern seaboard of Canada and United States—the sea and adjoining lands from the coast of Labrador down to Cape Cod. This region, once incredibly rich in the variety and quantity of its animal life, was the first area to be ravaged by Europeans in their history of exploitation of the North American continent.

Atlantic Monthly Press 425pp Orig. \$25 now \$7

### SOCIAL ANARCHISM: A Journal of Practice & Theory No. 13

Articles, reviews and poetry. The aesthetics of work, communal families as an alternative, statutory rape, a review of Andrea Dworkin's controversial essay, *Intercourse* and other articles. Social Anarchism 93pp \$3.00



### ELEMENTS OF REFUSAL by John Zerzan

First comprehensive collection of Zerzan's writings, many of which first appeared in the Fifth Estate. Daily life, with its intensifying alienations and psychopathology, becomes more spectacular and bizarre. We grow more dependent on glitter and diversion to fill the void where all that is human is gutted. The word "survive" displaces the word "live" in everyday speech as if they were equivalent. A kind of special terror permeates everything, a commonplace in our lives. But there is hope. Zerzan sees the "work-buy-consume-die" paradise on teetering on the brink of collapse.

Left Bank Books 263pp \$9.00

## BACK IN STOCK

### THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY

by Alexander Berkman

What went wrong in Russia? How did the successful attempt to overthrow the old dictatorship of the Tsarist system only lead to the new dictatorship of the Communists? Berkman answers these questions from the view of a participant having arrived in the Soviet Union after being deported from the U.S. following a long imprisonment for an assassination attempt on an industrialist.

Phoenix Press 91pp \$5.00

### MALATESTA: HIS LIFE & IDEAS

Compiled & Edited by Vernon Richards

The life and thought of the Italian anarchist who who Vernon Richards as a "giant" of the "giant-studded 19th century revolutionary movement." Passages culled from articles he wrote are organized under specific titles such as Mutual Aid, Or Organization, Property, Crime & Punishment, Anarchism and Science, Workers and Intellectual. Also, a short appreciation by Peter Kropotkin, "Recollections and Criticisms of an Old Friend." Concludes with a section on Malatesta's relevance for anarchists today by the editor. Freedom Press 309pp \$6

### ONCE UPON A TIME THERE WAS A PLACE CALLED NOTHING HILL GATE. . .

by Paddington Bear

A 20 year history of the Notting Hill Gate district of London focusing on the annual carnivals which often turn riotous. The area contains the elements of resistance which so often come into being and gives Bear the jumping off point for a look at contemporary English society. BM Blob 70pp \$2.00

## BACK IN STOCK

### WARTIME STRIKES

by Martin Glaberman

A long-time Detroit resident chronicles the struggle against the no-strike pledge in the UAW during World War II. An exciting account of autonomous organizing which had to take on the union and the state. Bewick Editions 158pp \$6.00

### SIMULATIONS by Jean Beaudrillard

"The very definition of the real has become that of which it is possible to give an equivalent reproduction. . . . The real is not only what can be reproduced. But that which is always already reproduced. The hyperreal. . . which is entirely in simulation." —from the text.

Semiotext(e) 159pp \$4.00

### BOLO' BOLO by P.M.

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### AUTONOMOUS TECHNOLOGY: Technics-out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought

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A Critical Anthology  
Edited by Alice Carnes & John Zerzan

This is the first explicitly *anti*-technology collection. As the introduction states, "This book presents only one side—the other side." Included are essays from Mumford, Ellul, Stanley Diamond, Jean Beaudrillard, Langdon Winner and even a couple from the FE's George Bradford. Section headings include: "Technology: It's History & Our Future," "Computers & The Informed Individual" and "Technology: The Web of Life." An excellent introduction to an investigation of technology's inherent hierarchical and destructive nature.

Freedom Press 222pp. \$10

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Edited by Elisabeth Burgos-Debray

After the coming to power of the Garcia Lucas regime in 1978, her brother, father and mother were all killed in separate, horrifying incidents of savagery on the part of the army. Undeterred, Rigoberta became a leader of the struggle against the dictatorship and her words evoke the realities of social and political life in Guatemala. Also, covered are the different functions of religious and superstitious belief and the development of a feminist and liberatory philosophy within the context of her peasant roots.

Verso 250pp pub. \$12 now \$10

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A huge compendium of works in American psychotopography—areas not found on the official map of consensus perception. Maps of energies, secret maps of the USA in the form of words and images. Sermons, rants, broadsheets, crackpot pamphlets, manifestoes, xerox and mimeo zines, punkzines, mail art, kids' poetry, subverted ads, American samizdat. Large format, startling graphics collection from the underground of American publishing.

Semiotext[e] 352pp \$9

### SOCIETY AGAINST THE STATE

by Pierre Clastres

Can there be a society that is not divided into oppressors and oppressed, or that refuses coercive state apparatuses? In this beautifully written book Pierre Clastres offers examples of South American Indian groups that, though without hierarchical leadership, were both affluent and complex. In so doing he refutes the usual negative definition of tribal society and poses its order as a radical critique of our own western state of power. "We conventionally define the state as the regulation of violence; it may be the origin of it. Clastres' thesis is that economic expropriation and political coercion are inconsistent with the character of tribal society—which is to say, with the greater part of human history." —Marshall Sahlins.

Zone Books 224 pp \$18.95 cloth

### THE FUTURE OF TECHNICS AND CIVILIZATION by Lewis Mumford

Introduction by Colin Ward

This is the second half of Mumford's classic text, *Technics and Civilization*. In it he "observed the limitations the Western European imposed upon himself in order to create the ma-

# Concentration Camps USA

*Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism*, by Richard Drinnon, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1987, 340 pp. \$24.95.

Although it was his profession, "a keeper of concentration camps" was hardly Dillon S. Myer's self-image. He considered himself to be an enlightened administrator, a tolerant, generous individual who incorporated what is best in the American tradition. In focusing on Myer's career as chief of the War Relocation Authority which incarcerated Japanese-Americans during W.W. II and later as commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Richard Drinnon agrees that Myer is a typical representative of the American tradition but insists on the odious effects of his practice.

Drinnon's portrait and analysis of Myer link up with those of Myer's contemporaries. Jailer-administrators in Soviet prison camps also considered themselves humanitarians, striving to better conditions for "the people" in the newly-imposed egalitarian society. The degree of cynicism and ruthlessness found in Soviet camps never was reached in camps headed by Myer, and readers who seek accounts of sadistic horrors won't find them in this book. But Drinnon captures the "toady" mentality of this government functionary, the same mentality that Solzhenitsyn railed against in his brilliant history of the Soviet gulags.

Drinnon's biography and characterization of Myer also provide a historical prototype for Wilhelm Reich's armored man. Here was an individual whose conception of the world was impervious to contradictory experience, who believed

his way of life was appropriate for all. Myer knew nothing of the history, language, religion or mores of the Japanese or Indian people he managed; he became petulant when his well-intentioned decrees were rebuffed.

Myer believed that inmates who rebelled against their jailers were troublemakers who had a grudge against him personally, and if only they would view things "correctly," they would accept their situation and appreciate his efforts.

"With his vision clouded by . . . ancestral presuppositions and prejudices, Myer could not see an Indian as an individual citizen. Confronted in Albuquerque by delegates from the Taos

A sordid chapter in the history of the American Civil Liberties Union comes out in Drinnon's history. The national leadership of the liberal organization acquiesced in the round-up of Japanese-Americans and aided Myer and other Roosevelt administration bureaucrats in stifling complaints against the camps. Officers of the national office also tried to thwart the West Coast bureau from investigating the camps.

Another organization that collaborated with government authorities was the Japanese American Citizens League. Its leader in the early 40s, Mike Masaoka, was more American than the Americans. He planted informers in the

## BOOK REVIEWS

Pueblo, he could not see Severino Martinez as a man with a serious problem worthy of his consideration, but perceived in him merely an instance of 'the Indian problem,' a holdover from the primitive past, an amusing 'museum specimen'; . . .

"Myer could not see Indian tribes as deeply rooted communities of people, but merely as 'segregated groups.' A nomadic bureaucrat himself, he blamed 'governmental programs' for tying Indians to the land and could not see that tribes such as the Pyramid Lake Paiutes had their own ties reaching down into ground they had revered for thousands of years." (p. 237)

from 1877 to the present. No dull workerist account, but showing movements of workers unrestrained by union, state and capital as having the potential for authentic revolution. South End Press 330pp \$9

### ANARCHY COMIX 1-4

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## BACK IN STOCK

### ON ORGANIZATION by Jacques Camatte

We announced last issue that this definitive dispatch of the notion that human affairs can be administered through organizations was out-of-print, but were promptly mailed about 30 copies of it. We were going to send them all to Minneapolis, but decided to offer them to our readership first.

Anonymous 40pp \$1

chine and project it as a body outside his personal will. . . . We have seen the machine arise out of the denial of the organic and the living. . . . Mumford calls for the "rebuilding of the individual personality and the collective group" in order to reorient human activity toward life. This republication celebrates Mumford's 90th birthday and Freedom Press' centenary. Mumford's work is seminal to almost all critical thought about the modern world. Freedom Press 184pp \$7.00

### SPECTACULAR TIMES: The Bad Days Will End

compiled and written by Larry Law

"The real state secret is the secret misery of daily life. Almost everything we care about has been turned into a commodity. We have to resist allowing the spectacle to define our hopes. We have to learn to play with our desires." - from the text

Spectacular Times 28pp \$1

### STRIKE! by Jeremy Brecher

An exciting history of mass labor insurgency

camps and fingered troublesome individuals for isolation.

Masaoka did not remain a stalwart ally of Myer, however. In the 1970s he lobbied Congress to establish a Commission to investigate the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, and this Commission was finally established in July 1980, two years before Myer's death. Drinnon comments, "Galling beyond words [to Myer] was the fact that JACL lobbyist Mike Masaoka had piloted this loathsome act through Congress." (p.252)

The villains in *Keeper of Concentration Camps* are run-of-the-mill Americans. Racial arrogance and complacent authority—not lust or greed—motivated the crimes of these social workers, administrators and patriots.

Happily, the story has its heroes and heroines as well. Japanese-American "internees" resisted the racist manipulators in ways that were rarely flamboyant, but more than adequate to trouble the administrators. Indigenous Americans, for centuries victims of European duplicity, are learning to fight their battles on many fronts. Their insistence on the right to control tribal affairs and their own lands makes governmental bureaucrats tremble. A number of talented allies joined both groups of resisters in their struggles. Drinnon dedicates his history to all these *no*-sayers, courageous individuals who resisted one of the United States' gross attempts at social engineering.

—Alice Detroit



# LIFE CAN BE M·A·G·I·C



# WHEN WE START TO BREAK FREE